

JOURNAL OF Near Eastern Studies

VOLUME 56 • JANUARY 1997 • NUMBER 1

ONE HUNDRED-FOURTEENTH YEAR



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS • CHICAGO • ILLINOIS • U.S.A.



JOURNAL OF Near Eastern Studies

Continuing THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF
SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

HEBRAICA, Vols. I–XI, 1884–1895

FOUNDED BY WILLIAM RAINEY HARPER

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND
LITERATURES, Vols. XII–LVIII, 1895–1941

ROBERT D. BIGGS, *Editor*

PAULA VON BECHTOLSHEIM, *Assistant Editor*

JANUARY 1997

Volume 56 Number 1

COPYING BEYOND FAIR USE

The code on the first page of an article in this journal indicates the copyright owner's consent that copies of the article may be made beyond those permitted by Sections 107 or 108 of the U.S. Copyright Law provided that copies are made only for personal or internal use, or for the personal or internal use of specific clients and provided that the copier pay the stated per-copy fee through the Copyright Clearance Center, Inc., Operations Center, 27 Congress Street, Salem, Massachusetts 01970. To request permission for other kinds of copying, such as copying for general distribution, for advertising or promotional purposes, for creating new collective works, or for resale, kindly write to the publisher. If no code appears on the first page of an article, permission to reprint may be obtained only from the author.

MANUSCRIPT ACCEPTANCE POLICY

While it is our policy to require the assignment of copyright on most journal articles, we do not usually request assignment of copyright for other contributions. Although the copyright to such a contribution may remain with the author, it is understood that, in return for publication, the journal has the nonexclusive right to publish the contribution and the continuing right, without limit, to include the contribution as part of any reprinting of the issue and/or volume of the journal in which the contribution first appeared by any means and in any format, including computer assisted storage and readout, in which the issue and/or volume may be produced.

EDITORIAL POLICY

The editors are interested in articles pertaining to the history and literature of the ancient and premodern Near East.

We consider sources, style, footnote form, originality of material and interpretation, clarity of thought, and interest of readers. All copy, including footnotes, should be double-spaced. Footnotes should be typed on separate sheets at the end of the article. If photographs are submitted with an article, they should be no larger than 5" x 7" and should be glossy prints.

Authors are responsible for securing permissions to utilize photographs or other copyrighted illustrations in their articles. All drawings and diagrams should also be no larger than 5" x 7". Authors should submit an original and a copy and retain a copy for security. In matters of capitalization, punctuation, abbreviations, and the like, the journal follows the guides in *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 13th ed., rev. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982).

Journal of Near Eastern Studies (ISSN 0022-2968) is published quarterly in January, April, July, and October by The University of Chicago Press, 5720 S. Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60637. ¶ Subscription rates: individuals, U.S.A.: 1 year \$41.00, Canada \$48.87. Institutions, U.S.A.: 1 year \$101.00, Canada \$113.07. Student subscription rate: U.S.A.: 1 year \$26.00 Canada \$32.82 (letter from professor must accompany subscription). Other countries add \$5.00 for each year's subscription to cover postage. Japanese subscription agent: Kinokuniya Co., Ltd. Single copy rates: individuals \$10.25, institutions \$25.25. Special issues: *Erich F. Schmidt Memorial Issue* (vol. 24, nos. 3–4) \$6.75; *XVIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (vol. 27, no. 3), \$6.75; *Near Eastern Studies in Memory of Keith C. Steele* (vol. 32, nos. 1–2) \$6.75; *The Chicago Colloquium on Aramaic Studies* (vol. 37, no. 2) \$6.75. Volumes 1–44 available from Periodicals Services Co., 11 Main St., Germantown, New York 12526. All volumes are available in microfilm from University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106; in microcard from J. S. Canner & Co., 49–65 Lansdowne Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02215 or Johnson Associates, P.O. Box 1017, Greenwich, Connecticut 06830. Please make all remittances payable to The University of Chicago Press in United States currency or its equivalent by postal or express money orders or bank drafts.

Business correspondence should be addressed to The University of Chicago Press, 5720 S. Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60637.

Communications for the editors, manuscripts, and books for review should be addressed to the Editor of JOURNAL OF NEAR EASTERN STUDIES, The Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago, 1155 E. 58th Street, Chicago, Illinois 60637.

The articles in this journal are indexed in the *Social Sciences and Humanities Index* and *Religion Index One: Periodicals* (American Theological Library Association, Chicago), available online through BRS (Bibliographic Retrieval Services), Latham, New York and DIALOG, Palo Alto, California; *Periodica Islamica* (Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia).

Change of Address: Please allow four weeks for the change. **Postmaster:** Send address change to Journal of Near Eastern Studies, P.O. Box 37005, Chicago, Illinois 60637.

Periodicals postage paid at Chicago, Illinois, and at additional mailing point.

© 1997 by The University of Chicago. All rights reserved.

JOURNAL OF
Near Eastern Studies

JANUARY 1997 • VOLUME 56 • NUMBER 1
ONE HUNDRED-FOURTEENTH YEAR

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ARTICLES

REUVEN FIRESTONE. Disparity and Resolution in the Qur ^ʿ ānic Teachings on War: A Reevaluation.	1
LEO DEPUYDT. Four Thousand Years of Evolution: On a Law of Historical Change in Ancient Egypt.	21
BOULOS AYAD AYAD. From the Archive of Ananiah Son of Azariah: A Jew from Elephantine.	37

BOOK REVIEWS

CHARLES E. BUTTERWORTH, ed. <i>The Political Aspects of Islamic Philosophy: Essays in Honor of Muhsin S. Mahdi</i> (Herbert Berg)	51
IAN RICHARD NETTON. <i>A Popular Dictionary of Islam</i> (Herbert Berg)	53
RICHARD BELL. <i>A Commentary on the Qur^ʿān</i> . Vol. 1. <i>Surahs I–XXIV</i> . Vol. 2. <i>Surahs XXV–CXIV</i> (Todd Lawson).	53
JACQUELINE SUBLET. <i>La voile du nom: Essai sur le nom propre arabe</i> (John R. Perry).	55
KHALID YAHYA BLANKINSHIP. <i>The End of the Jihād State: The Reign of Hishām Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik and the Collapse of the Umayyads</i> (Paul M. Cobb)	56
NIKKI R. KEDDIE and BARON, BETH, eds. <i>Women in Middle Eastern History: Shifting Boundaries in Sex and Gender</i> (Niloofar Shambiyati)	56
CARL W. ERNST. <i>Eternal Garden: Mysticism, History and Politics at a South Asian Sufi Center</i> (Juan R. I. Cole).	57
DENIS VAN BERCHEM. <i>L'égyptologue genevois Edouard Naville: Années d'études et premiers voyages en Egypte 1862–1870</i> (J. G. Manning).	59
TORMOD EIDE, TOMAS HÄGG, RICHARD HOLTON PIERCE, and LÁSLÓ TÖRÖK, eds. <i>Fontes Historiae Nubiorum: Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region between the Eighth Century B.C. and the Sixth Century A.D.</i> Vol. 1. <i>From the Eighth to the Mid-Fifth Century B.C.</i> (Bruce Beyer Williams)	60
STEVE VINSON. <i>Egyptian Boats and Ships</i> (Emily Teeter)	61
GEOFFREY KILLEN. <i>Egyptian Woodworking and Furniture</i> (Emily Teeter).	61
CAROL ANDREWS. <i>Amulets of Ancient Egypt</i> (Emily Teeter)	61
MASAO MORI, HIDEO OGAWA, and MAMORO YOSHIKAWA, eds. <i>Near Eastern Studies Dedicated to H.I.H. Prince Takahito Mikasa on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday</i> (Robert D. Biggs)	62
SIMO PARPOLA. <i>Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars</i> (Robert D. Biggs)	63

TULLIA LINDERS and BRITA ALROTH, eds. <i>Economics of Cult in the Ancient Greek World: Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1990</i> (Eleanor Guralnick)	64
THOMAS L. THOMPSON. <i>Early History of the Israelite People: From the Written and Archaeological Sources</i> (Elizabeth Bloch-Smith)	65
PHILIP J. KING. <i>Jeremiah: An Archaeological Companion</i> (Mark S. Smith)	67
YORAM TSAFRIR ET AL. <i>Excavations at Rhehovot-in-the-Negev</i> . Vol. 1. <i>The Northern Church</i> (Dennis E. Groh)	69
MOSHE WEINFELD. <i>Deuteronomy 1–11: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary</i> (Dennis Pardee)	70
WOLFGANG RICHTER. <i>Biblia Hebraica transcripta, BHt</i> . Vol. 1. <i>Genesis</i> (Dennis Pardee)	70
WOLFGANG RICHTER. <i>Biblia Hebraica transcripta, BHt</i> . Vol. 2. <i>Exodus, Leviticus</i> (Dennis Pardee)	70
WOLFGANG RICHTER. <i>Biblia Hebraica transcripta, BHt</i> . Vol. 3. <i>Numeri, Deuteronomium</i> (Dennis Pardee)	70
DAVID VOLGGER. <i>Notizen zur Phonologie des Bibelhebräischen</i> (Richard L. Goerwitz III)	71
AVERIL CAMERON and LAWRENCE I. CONRAD. <i>The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East: Problems in the Literary Source Material</i> (Paul M. Cobb)	73
ANGELIKI E. LAIOU and HENRY MAGUIRE, eds. <i>Byzantium: A World Civilization</i> (Walter E. Kaegi)	75
<i>Who's Who in Biblical Studies and Archaeology</i> . 2d. ed. (Robert D. Biggs)	75
<i>Books Received</i>	77

DISPARITY AND RESOLUTION IN THE QUR'ĀNIC TEACHINGS ON WAR: A REEVALUATION OF A TRADITIONAL PROBLEM

REUVEN FIRESTONE, *Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, Los Angeles*

I. INTRODUCTION

THE Qur'ān contains dozens of references to fighting or warring "in the path of God,"¹ and it has been long established that the revelation of the Qur'ān occurred in a polemical milieu and in an environment hardened by the common occurrence of physical conflict and fighting.² The Qur'ān itself refers ever and again to enemies of Islam, whether they be the idolatrous Arabs who opposed the Prophet Muḥammad, the Jews who attempted to distort even their own as well as the Muḥammad's teachings in their attempt to forestall the establishment of his authority, or the hypocrites (*munāfiqūn*), who, despite their outward appearance as Muslims, nevertheless undermined the work of God as expressed through the mission of His Prophet.

A large and complex document, it is not surprising that the Qur'ān's many references to war would appear less than completely consistent. In fact, a number of verses appear to contradict one another with regard to allowances and restrictions within divinely sanctioned or encouraged fighting. The theological and political repercussions associated with the possibility of divine contradiction disturbed Muslim religious scholars, however, and probably from a very early period. They eventually solved the problem of apparent contradiction by asserting that the equivocal concepts and injunctions depicted in the Qur'ān were revealed in response to specific occasions within the religious mission of the Prophet Muḥammad.

That is, because the Qur'ānic revelation guided Muḥammad through the many vicissitudes of his mission in forming and leading the Muslim community, the tenor of its teachings and guidance had necessarily to change in order to guide that community through the particular needs of the time. As the needs changed, so did the revelations in order to respond

¹ The Qur'ān makes use of the following three verbs in descending order of frequency: *qātala* (fighting), *jāhada* (striving, often followed by the words, *fī sabil Allāh*—"in the cause or path of God"; this formula is often used with *qātala* as well), and *hāraba* (warring). The first two verbs are virtually interchangeable and the third rarely used. The context of usage is more often than not one of raiding or brief battles in what would be considered today (or in the Greco-Roman world) a

minor skirmish. Within the context of pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabia, however, these would be considered warring acts. See W. Montgomery Watt, "Islamic Conceptions of the Holy War," in Thomas P. Murphy, ed., *The Holy War* (Columbus, 1976), esp. pp. 141–42; Majid Khadduri, *War and Peace in the Law of Islam* (Baltimore, 1955), p. 62; and cf. A. F. L. Beeston, *Warfare in Ancient South Arabia*, *Qahtan Studies in Old South Arabian Epigraphy*, fasc. 3 (London, 1976). Please note that Qur'ānic references are indicated in brackets throughout.

² See Wabḥah al-Zuhaylī, *Āthār al-Ḥarb fī al-Fiqh al-Islāmī* (Beirut, n.d.), vol. 1, pp. 52–54 (hereafter Zuhaylī), which probably overstates the situation somewhat.

accurately to the changing circumstances. Until the community reached a state of equilibrium and stability toward the end of Muḥammad's life in Medina, its special needs required the occasional divine sanction of special and temporary behaviors which would eventually no longer be required. In the case of apparent contradictions, therefore, the latest revelations—those that were revealed while the Muslim community under the personal leadership of the Prophet was at its most advanced and equilibrating state—were considered to be normative, and thus, eternally binding. Earlier material, on the other hand, which was revealed in relation to extraordinary time-bound situations in which Muḥammad and his community found themselves, would be abrogated by revelations that could be dated to a later time, and these in turn would be abrogated by the last and therefore eternally binding divine pronouncements. This traditional solution, with its slight variations between individual scholars and schools, has become common wisdom in the Islamic world to this day, and Western students of Islam have, until recently, generally relied on it uncritically.³

The Qurʾān contains many pronouncements prescribing action against idolators and enemies of Islam ranging from exhortations to be satisfied with verbal debate against them to commands to kill them. When confronted with such contradictory divine statements more than a century after the traditional date of the redaction of the Qurʾān, Islamic scholars followed the approach just described and came to the conclusion that the contradictory revelations were given to Muḥammad in response to specific situations with which he was confronted. The nonmilitant verses were revealed when the young polity of Muslims was weak in order to protect it from any backlash that would result from aggressive acts on behalf of Islam, but as the community grew in numbers and strength, the revelations became increasingly militant. When the Muslims were strong enough, they were allowed to fight the non-Muslims, first in self-defense and then whenever it would be advantageous to do so. When they were overwhelmingly powerful, they were commanded to fight their detractors at all times and in all places until they would destroy idolatry and Islam would become the hegemonious religion.⁴

This scenario suggests a smooth transition of the entire community through stages from a largely pacifist to an extremely militant approach—what will be called the “evolutionary theory” of war in the Qurʾān. The Qurʾān, however, provides a great deal of contrary evidence to this scenario, and both it and its exegetical literature contain material suggesting that the community was not all of one voice. A new reading of the literature would suggest that the Muslim community was comprised of a number of factions with differing positions on fighting and war. It will be argued here that the highly aggressive stance adopted by the tradition was the position of a militant faction which won out over less militant groups, each referring to different Qurʾānic verses for support.

II. TWO GENRES OF INTERPRETIVE LITERATURE

Two genres of interpretive literature evolved in the Islamic world which directly or indirectly responded to the problem of possible contradictions in revelation, and they natu-

³ But see John Burton's highly successful study of the problem of Qurʾānic contradiction in *The Collection of the Qurʾān* (Cambridge, 1977) as well as his recent monograph, *The Sources of Islamic Law: Islamic Theories of Abrogation* (Edinburgh, 1990).

⁴ Zuhaylī, vol. 1, pp. 54–56 (see Rudolf Peters, *Islam and Colonialism: The Doctrine of Jihad in Modern History* [The Hague, 1979], pp. 12–24 and notes for a brief survey of the literature).

rally treated a great many issues beyond that of religiously sanctified fighting. The genre known as "occasions of revelation" (*asbāb al-nuzūl*), attempted to establish the historical and situational contexts within Muḥammad's twenty-two year mission, during which the Qur'ānic revelations were communicated to him.⁵ The *asbāb* literature relied on simple logic when placing the revelations within the context of Muḥammad's mission. If a particular verse, a set of verses, or even a phrase making up part of a verse treated an issue that found a likely context in an event known from the biography of the Prophet (the *Sira*), whether in its oral or "canonized" forms, it was assumed to have been revealed in relation to that occasion. This particular method of associating Qur'ānic revelations with the prophetic career of Muḥammad sometimes resulted in a situation where parts of a single verse were claimed to have been revealed in relation to widely different and chronologically divergent events.

Justification for this odd practice may be found in the Islamic view of the organization and redaction of the Qur'ān itself. It was always known by Muslim religious scholars that chronology was never an organizing principle around which the Qur'ān as we have it today was redacted. According to the most widely accepted traditional account of its redaction, even parts of a single sentence were sometimes collected and placed together from widely different contexts.⁶ The *asbāb* literature, then, in effect attempted to chronologize or "rearrange" the Qur'ānic verse order according to an accepted history of the prophetic mission, yet without tampering with the classical ordering of the Qur'ānic verses.

The second category, known as the "abrogating and abrogated" verses (*al-nāsikh wal-mansūkh*) or simply "abrogation" (*naskh*), attempted to establish which of seemingly contradictory divine prescriptions should be considered incumbent upon the community of believers. This was done by determining which of the contradictory statements was later. Although collections of "abrogating and abrogated" verses were organized in a variety of ways, they, like the *asbāb* literature, were also largely based on a theoretical dating of revelation deriving from the biography of the Prophet, although they sometimes also relied on statements (*ḥadīths*) of early Muslim religious scholars independent of the official prophetic biographies.

The success of both of these genres is predicated upon certain principles which are not open to question in Islamic circles. The first is that the Qur'ān was revealed serially over a period of some twenty-two years. The second is that Muḥammad sought or expected divine revelation in order to respond to the exigencies of specific situations. But these principles are nothing more than assumptions. Both are based on "common knowledge" derived from oral traditions that were eventually reduced to writing in the histories, the official or canonized biography of the Prophet, and formal Qur'ānic exegesis. These materials, however, were not established until late (about a century and a half after the death of Muḥammad), and we shall observe below how they cannot be relied upon as factual reconstructions of the chronology of revelation.

Material from these two categories of interpretive literature, as well as that found in the earliest exegetical works (*tafāsīr*), provides a great deal of traditional data about the Qur'ānic war verses. When the data are laid out and analyzed, however, they are anything

⁵ See Andrew Rippin, "The Exegetical Genre *Asbāb al-Nuzūl*: A Bibliographical and Terminological Survey," in *BSOAS* 48 (1985): 2-15.

⁶ A. T. Welch, "al-Ḳur'ān," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed. (*EI*²), vol. 5, pp. 404-6.

but consistent. Different early authorities are quoted as disagreeing over the events about which key verses were revealed, over which verses abrogated which, or even whether a verse is to be considered an abrogating verse or an abrogated verse. Later legal works of *fiqh* tend to standardize the formal Islamic view of war, while taking into account the slightly different conclusions among the various schools of law, but the fact remains that this is an even later development and cannot dispel the reality that earlier material is hardly consistent.

Dozens of Qur^ʿānic verses treat war or fighting for religious cause (*fi sabil Allāh*). A much smaller number have been relied upon in the legal literature as keys to what is construed as the progression through historical stages in the Qur^ʿānic legislation regarding war. Nine key verses cited most often by the legal literature have been isolated here, based on the conceptual progression assumed in the legal works. These verses and their exegesis in early sources are examined according to the progression suggested by the literature.

III. QUR^ʿĀNIC LEGISLATION REGARDING WAR

STAGE ONE: NON-CONFRONTATION

Sūra 15:94–95

“Profess openly what you have been commanded, and turn away from the idolators, for we are sufficient for you against the scoffers.”

According to the accepted wisdom as expressed in such early exegetical works as *Tafsīr Muqātil b. Sulaymān*⁷ as well as al-Ṭabarī⁸ and others, Muḥammad withheld from preaching for two years after having begun receiving the revelation of the Qur^ʿān in Mecca. *Sūra* 15:94 (“Profess openly what you have been commanded . . .”) is considered by some to have actually initiated his mission: *Tafsīr Muqātil* adds:

When he gave an account of his Lord, the Meccan unbelievers confronted him with annoyance and accused him openly of lying. Therefore, the words [of the second half of the verse]: “. . . and turn away from the idolators. . . .” God commanded him to avoid [them] and [to have] patience in the face of insult.

Another early commentary, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, attributed to ʿAbdullāh b. ʿAbbās,⁹ also considers *sūra* 15:94 to be the verse initiating the mission of the Prophet, except that it suggests that it was the following verse [15:95], “for we are sufficient for you against the scoffers,” which was revealed to reassure the hesitant new Prophet.

The context for these two consecutive verses in the latter half of *sūra* 15 is one in which Muḥammad is encouraged to act the prophet in his community. He is given comfort with the knowledge that the prophets of old had also been rejected by their people, but that those who rejected them were discomfited. This section, however, is placed by Bell and others

⁷ Ed. ʿAbdullāh Maḥmūd Shihāta (Cairo, 1979), vol. 2, p. 437.

⁸ Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-Bayān ʿan Taʾwīl ʾĀy al-Qurʾān* (Beirut, 1405/1984), vol. 14, p. 68 (hereafter Ṭabarī).

⁹ *Tanwīr al-Miqbās min Tafsīr Ibn ʿAbbās* (Beirut, n.d.), p. 220. Works such as this are most likely pseud-epigraphic but not necessarily late. See Rippin, “Muqātil b. Sulaymān,” *EI*², vol. 7, pp. 508–9; and idem, “Muḥāhid b. Djabr al-Makki,” *EI*², vol. 7, p. 293.

as not earlier than the end of the Meccan period in 621–22.¹⁰ Moreover, if the literary context of this Qurʾānic pericope can be considered trustworthy as a single unit, it appears to be encouraging Muḥammad's mission *after* his having been treated poorly by those who would not accept his role of prophet. This would suggest that the verse may not be nearly as early as the works attributed to Muqātil and Ibn ʿAbbās would suggest.

Sūra 16:125

“Summon to the way of your Lord with wisdom and good admonition and argue against them with what is better, for your Lord knows best who has strayed from His path and who has been guided.”¹¹

Al-Wāḥidī dates this verse to an incident after the Battle of Uḥud (625 C.E.), some twelve to thirteen years *after* the assumed revelation of 15:94–95.¹² According to Wāḥidī's placement of the revelation, Muḥammad had learned that his uncle, Hamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, had been killed at the Battle of Uḥud in the month of Shawwāl (roughly March) of 625 and his body horribly mutilated. Muḥammad was so incensed that he threatened to kill seventy Qurayshite men in revenge. The parallel passage in the *Sīra* which is cited also by al-Naḥḥās and Ṭabarī states that he vowed to *mutilate* thirty Quraysh,¹³ which may be more authentic because it calls for equal treatment in revenge.¹⁴ According to Wāḥidī, it was immediately after the slain of Uḥud were buried that *sūra* 16:125–27 was revealed:

Summon to the way of your Lord with wisdom and good admonition and argue with them with what is better, for your Lord knows best who has strayed from His path and who has been guided. [126] If you punish, then punish with the like of that with which you were afflicted.¹⁵ But if you endure patiently, that is better for the patient. [127] Be patient. Your patience is only through God.

Sūra 16:126–27 does indeed relate directly to physical response in the form of the *lex talionis*, but 16:125 does not relate to the issue. Why *sūra* 16:125 is cited by Wāḥidī along with 16:126–27 is puzzling, and it seems that the occasion of revelation (*sabab*) he cites for 16:125 cannot be considered to relate appropriately to the meaning of the verse. In fact, Ṭabarī separates 16:125 from 16:126–27 and relates the repeated tradition as regarding Uḥud to the later verses only. In Ṭabarī's fuller exposition, he ties only 16:126–27 to the incident at Uḥud and notes that 16:126 actually abrogated itself. That is, mutilation was first allowed only in response to mutilation: “If you punish, then punish with the like

¹⁰ Bell, *The Qurʾān Translated* (Edinburgh, 1937), vol. 1, p. 247. Muḥammad Asad, *The Message of the Qurʾān* (Gibraltar, 1980), p. 382.

¹¹ See also *sūra* 29:46: “Do not argue with the People of the Book except in the best way, unless it be with those who do wrong but say, ‘we believe in the revelation which has come down to us and in that which came down to you. Our God and your God is one, and it is to Him we submit.’”

¹² Abūl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Wāḥidī, *Asbāb al-Nuzūl* (Beirut, n.d.), pp. 162–63 (hereafter Wāḥidī).

¹³ *Sīra*; see A. Guillaume, trans., *The Life of Muḥammad* (Oxford, 1955), p. 585. See also Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Naḥḥās, *Al-Nāsikh wal-Mansūkh fī Kitāb Allāh ʿAzza waJalla Wikhtilāf al-ʿUlamāʾ fī Dhālika*, ed. Sulaymān b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAb-

dullāh al-Rāḥim (Beirut, 1412/1991), vol. 2, p. 484 (hereafter Naḥḥās); Ṭabarī, vol. 14, pp. 195–96.

¹⁴ The versions of al-Ṭaḥāwī (*Sharḥ Maʿānā al-ʾĀthār*, vol. 3, p. 183) and al-Wāḥidī, as quoted by the editor of al-Naḥḥās (vol. 2, p. 484, n. 4) has it that Muḥammad vowed to mutilate seventy men in revenge rather than simply kill them. The word *q t l* may have been later substituted for *m th l* to improve the image of the Prophet.

¹⁵ Or “punished.” The verb here, *ʿāqaba*, means to alternate or to punish or to punish in return in the sense of retribution or revenge. Note that the identical word is used in the verse three times and is translated variously as punishment, retribution, or affliction, depending on the translation.

with which you were afflicted." But this was soon abrogated by the second part of the verse calling for patience: "But if you endure patiently, that is better for the patient. [127] Be patient. Your patience is only through God."¹⁶

Without proposing a context, *Tafsīr Muqātil* suggests that 16:125 refers to the Peoples of the Book.¹⁷ This would solve the problem of abrogation because the Peoples of the Book are not to be converted by force but are allowed to live as "protected peoples" (*dhimmīs*) if they pay a special tax and live in a condition of humility (or humiliation).¹⁸ If 16:125 is directed to the *dhimmīs* only, then it need not have been abrogated by a later more aggressive verse. This interpretation would not construe the verse-string to be an early revelation since it differentiates Peoples of the Book from idolators and provides for an aggressive response to the latter.

Only one named tradition on this verse is cited repeatedly in the literature, and this is attributed to Mujāhid.¹⁹ This tradition glosses *sūra* 16:125 as "turn away from their wrongs against you (*a^crid ^can adhāhum iyāka*),"²⁰ suggesting a passive or nonmilitant response to harassment. It is the only consistent tradition cited by the exegetes.²¹

Ibn al-Jawzī mentions that "most of the exegetes are of the opinion that this verse was abrogated by the Sword Verse,"²² although he provides no sources holding this opinion.²³ Ibn al-Jawzī, however, does not personally consider it to have been abrogated. His reasoning is that arguing and fighting are not mutually exclusive. That is, the meaning of the verse is: "Argue with them, but if they refuse, [then use] the sword."²⁴ Al-Naḥḥās also considers 16:125 to be in force and mentions that those holding this view say, "arguing in a better way is arriving ultimately to what God has commanded."²⁵

To conclude here, 16:125 does not relate to the following verse and must not be associated with it and the incident at Uḥud.²⁶ The actual message of 16:125, that verbal argument and not physical violence against Muḥammad's detractors is called for, tends to have been largely disregarded. Despite the exegetes' claims that scholars consider it abro-

¹⁶ Ṭabarī, vol. 14, p. 195.

¹⁷ Vol. 2, p. 494. This seems to be the view also of Ṭabarī (vol. 14, p. 195).

¹⁸ See *sūra* 9:29, discussed below.

¹⁹ Mujāhid b. Jabr al-Makhzūmī (d. 104/722) was a prolific and well-respected transmitter of tradition and was a student of Ibn ʿAbbās (al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Huffāz* [Hyderabad, 1377/1958], vol. 1, pp. 92–93; EI¹, vol. 7, p. 293).

²⁰ Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Jawzī, *Nawāsikh al-Qurʿān* (Beirut, n.d.), p. 188 (hereafter Ibn al-Jawzī); *Tafsīr al-Imām Mujāhid b. Jabr*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Salām Abū-Nīl (Cairo, 1410/1989), p. 427 (hereafter *Tafsīr Mujāhid*); Ṭabarī, vol. 14, p. 194 (repeated there). The aforementioned *ḥadīth* regarding Muḥammad's reaction upon seeing his mutilated uncle is found repeated also in the literature, but it is a *ḥadīth* and not an exegetical comment made in response to the text of the Qurʿān.

²¹ See also Imād al-Dīn Ismāʿīl Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qurʿān al-ʿAẓīm* (Beirut, 1405/1985), vol. 4, p. 235, who calls for gentle persuasion in arguing against the idolators.

²² This is a reference to *sūra* 9:5, which will be dis-

cussed below (Ibn al-Jawzī, p. 188). Al-Naḥḥās cites the same opinion without providing sources (vol. 2, p. 487).

²³ In his discussion of the following verse [16:126], however, he provides traditions in support of its abrogation on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās and al-Ḍaḥḥāk (Ibn al-Jawzī, p. 189). According to this view, 16:126 in effect called for defensive fighting only but was ultimately abrogated by 9:5. Ṭabarī provides the same argument (vol. 14, p. 196). Both Ibn al-Jawzī and Ṭabarī, however, also cite the opinion that 16:126 is not abrogated, and they themselves take this view. That view holds that the verse does not treat war specifically but treats any case where a believer is wronged by an unbeliever. If this should occur, the believer is allowed only to exact retribution to the level of the wrong perpetrated against him and not more, whether the wrong committed be in the realm of property or an injury to one's own person (Ibn al-Jawzī, p. 189; Ṭabarī, vol. 14, p. 197).

²⁴ Ibn al-Jawzī, p. 188.

²⁵ Naḥḥās, vol. 2, p. 487.

²⁶ Bell considers 16:126 to have been a later addition, inserted in its present place perhaps because of the parallel theme of patient endurance (vol. 1, p. 261).

gated, not a single tradition is actually cited to this effect. In short, this verse, which prescribes a nonmilitant approach to the spread of Islam, was not formally abrogated but rather ignored.

STAGE TWO: DEFENSIVE FIGHTING

Sūra 22:39–40

“Permission is given to those who have been fought against because they have been wronged—those who have been wrongly expelled from their homes only because they say, ‘our Lord is Allah’.”

According to Wāḥidi, *sūra* 22:39 was revealed during the year of the Hijra immediately after Muḥammad left Mecca. Abū Bakr is reported to have complained that the minute they would leave the limited protection of Mecca, they would be destroyed by their enemies.²⁷ The verse was therefore revealed to allow them henceforth to defend themselves.

This is considered the first revelation allowing the Muslims to engage in fighting.²⁸ A single unreported tradition attributed to Ibn Zayd states that permission to fight was withheld for ten years.²⁹ This would establish a date for its revelation in 622, the year of the Hijra, and ten years after the first revelations were reported to have been received by Muḥammad.

As the first verse sanctioning fighting, it is assumed to have abrogated verses treating conflict through different means, such as 15:94, 16:125, and 29:46. The same Ibn Zayd was attributed to have said that 22:39 abrogated the demand to avoid conflict prescribed by *sūra* 7:180: “Leave the company of those who blaspheme His names.”³⁰ Not all, however, considered 22:39 to have been an abrogating verse. Some suggested that earlier verses still stand, although fighting is also permitted.³¹

The exegetes believed that there existed an actual ban (*nahy*) against fighting before the revelation of this verse. This is made clear both by reference to a ban in *Tafsīr Muqātil*³² and by the comment attributed to Abū Bakr that they would certainly be killed if not allowed to fight back.³³ The followers of Muḥammad are reported to have asked him for permission to fight back as well, but were presumably not allowed to do so until after having left Mecca.³⁴

The early ban against fighting has been explained in retrospect by the tradition as a necessary protective tactic to avoid being destroyed by overwhelming force when the Muslim community was small and weak. It is just as likely, however, that the ban against fighting represents a nonmilitant view within the young polity of Muslims. This view, it is argued,

²⁷ P. 177. Similar words put into the mouth of Abū Bakr are also found in a number of the sources listed in the following footnote.

²⁸ Many authoritative statements to this effect (that is, statements attributed to specific early authorities) are collected in Ṭabarī, vol. 17, pp. 172–73; Naḥḥās, vol. 2, pp. 233, 301, 525; *Tafsīr Ibn ʿAbbās*, p. 280; *Tafsīr Muqātil*, vol. 3, p. 129; *Tafsīr Mujāhid*, p. 482, etc.

²⁹ Ṭabarī, vol. 17, p. 172.

³⁰ Naḥḥās, vol. 2, p. 525.

³¹ This is articulated as an unauthoritative minority opinion (Naḥḥās, vol. 2, p. 387).

³² Vol. 3, p. 129.

³³ Ṭabarī, vol. 17, p. 172; Wāḥidi, p. 177.

³⁴ Ṭabarī, vol. 17, p. 173. An interesting issue is taken up when Ṭabarī (ibid., pp. 171–73) treats the question of who was granted permission to fight by this verse. The options he provides are (1) only Muḥammad and his companions, (2) only those who were fought against, (3) only those who were wronged, (4) only the Emigrants (not the *anṣār*), and (5) everyone.

is based on Qur^ʿānic verses such as those we have examined as well as others calling for verbal argument without physical aggression. It was largely lost to history when a more aggressive stance was taken but can be reconstructed in part from the Qur^ʿān and its early exegesis.

Sūra 2:190

“Fight in the way of God those who fight you, but do not transgress limits (*walā ta^ʿtadū*), for God does not love transgressors.”

According to Wāḥidī’s citation of a tradition on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās, *sūra* 2:190 was revealed in 628 on or just after the occasion of the agreement at al-Ḥudaybiyya.³⁵ Despite the al-Ḥudaybiyya agreement, the Muslims feared that when they returned to perform the pilgrimage the following year, there would be a battle within the Sacred Precinct in Mecca, which was forbidden according to pre-Islamic Arabian tradition. The companions of the Prophet were particularly upset about this, he says, so God revealed *sūra* 2:190 which taught that they could fight if attacked.

Muḥammad’s decision to enter into a pact with the enemy based on their own terms was so controversial that his stalwart friend and future Caliph, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb publicly opposed it.³⁶ The revelation of 2:190 at this occasion may be seen as providing justification for Muḥammad’s controversial compromise. But if this verse were truly revealed for this occasion, was it not already known to the Muslims from 22:39–40, revealed some six years earlier, that defensive fighting was already allowed? If 2:190 were revealed in relation to entering the Sacred Precinct, why would it not be more specific about fighting in that location? The following verse, which will be examined in detail below, does indeed provide the information [2:191]: “Kill them wherever you find them, and turn them out from where they turned you out, for *fitna* is worse than killing, but do not fight them at the Sacred Mosque (*al-masjid al-ḥarām*) unless they fight you there; but if they fight you, kill them. . . .” As might be expected even from a casual reading of these two verses, the exegetes do not generally associate 2:191 with 2:190 because of the substantial variance between them. *Sūra* 2:191 is not associated with al-Ḥudaybiyya.³⁷

The dating of 2:190 at al-Ḥudaybiyya would not correspond with the traditional “evolutionary theory” of Qur^ʿānic war because that date would place it already four years after the Muslim community had passed from a defensive posture to a limited program of aggressive war.³⁸ The association of 2:190 with al-Ḥudaybiyya could only be because of its proximity to the following verse which does refer to fighting within the sacred precinct in Mecca. But the reason for the two verses’ adjacent location is topical—not historical. Neither modern nor traditional scholars associate them together.³⁹ In fact, it seems as if their

³⁵ Wāḥidī, p. 29. Cf. *Tafsir Muqātil*, vol. 1, p. 167. Al-Ḥudaybiyya was a village bordering the Sacred Precinct (*ḥaram*) of Mecca at which an important agreement was made between Muḥammad and the Meccan Quraysh in which the Muslims would retreat from entering Mecca, ostensibly on pilgrimage, but would be allowed to make pilgrimage the following year during which the town would be vacated of its

idolatrous inhabitants for three days (See W. M. Watt, “al-Ḥudaybiyya,” in *EI*², vol. 3, p. 539).

³⁶ *Sira*, pp. 504–5.

³⁷ See pp. 12–13 below.

³⁸ This change is reflected in virtually all the sources with the revelation of 2:217 in response to the raid of ʿAbdullāh b. Jaḥsh in 624 (see pp. 10–11 below).

³⁹ See also Bell, *The Qur^ʿān*, p. 26.

relational placement by the collectors of the Qurʾān was designed in order to make perfectly clear that the limitations suggested in 2:190 were abrogated by the nearly limitless proclamation of 2:191.⁴⁰

Although at first sight 2:190 seems to be talking about defensive fighting ("Fight . . . those who fight you"), most exegetes understand the verse to be treating an entirely different issue, and very few comments unambiguously treat the issue of defensive fighting.⁴¹ Most understand the words "do not transgress limits" (*walā taʿtadū*) to refer only to the restriction against fighting noncombatants. Such noncombatants are defined by the exegetes as those "who are not prepared to fight, such as women, children and monks."⁴²

Two *ḥadīths* are cited for support of this view. One on the authority of Ibn ʿUmar⁴³ states that Muḥammad was greatly disturbed when he saw a woman killed during a raid and therefore forbade the killing of women and children.⁴⁴ The other is more general in nature in which the Prophet is cited as forbidding even the weak and the oppressed from turning around and oppressing their old enemies.⁴⁵

Ibn al-Jawzī considers 2:190 to remain unabrogated. Although he cites what he considers to be all the opinions regarding its abrogation, there are essentially two:⁴⁶

1. The meaning of the verse is that noncombatant unbelievers must not be fought and killed, but most consider the verse to be abrogated by verses extending the requirement to fight *all* idolators whether or not they are capable of fighting.⁴⁷

2. The second opinion holds that the only part of the verse which is abrogated is, "but do not transgress limits." That is, the limits of warfare originally established by the verse no longer apply, and various opinions within this camp refer to those original limits as the killing of noncombatants, fighting during the Sacred Months and in the Sacred Precinct, or fighting those with whom the Muslims had previous pacts.

Like Ibn al-Jawzī, Naḥḥās also considers the verse to be in force (*muḥkam*) and cites a tradition on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās to the effect that noncombatants must not be fought.⁴⁸

This verse is therefore not considered by most of the exegetes to be an authorization for defensive fighting as is assumed by Peters⁴⁹ but, rather, a warning to refrain from exceeding the prohibition against fighting noncombatants. As noted above, the relationship between 2:190 and al-Ḥudaybiyya suggested by Wāḥidī does not make sense. If this verse

⁴⁰ Some traditionists claim *sūra* 2:190 to have been the first verse about fighting revealed in Medina (cited on the authority of al-Rabīʿ [Ṭabarī, vol. 2, p. 189]; and Abū al-ʿĀliya [Ibn Kathīr, vol. 1, p. 400]). See also Abū Barakāt ʿAbdullāh b. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd al-Nasafī, *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-Jalīl*, also known as *Madārik al-Tanzīl waḥaḳāʾiq al-Taʾwīl* [Beirut, n.d.], vol. 2, p. 190). This clearly conflicts with the majority opinion that 22:39, revealed in relation to the Hijra some six years earlier, was the first verse revealed allowing the Muslims to engage in fighting—that is, defensive fighting. But those holding this view place its revelation much earlier than the pact at al-Ḥudaybiyya.

⁴¹ See *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, p. 26.

⁴² Ibn al-Jawzī, p. 71. See also Naḥḥās, pp. 516–17; Ibn Kathīr, vol. 1, p. 401; Nasafī, vol. 1, p. 123; Ṭabarī, vol. 2, p. 189–90, where the limits are extended to include old men, those who proffer peace, fighters who restrain their hands, and all "protected peoples"

(*ahl al-jizya*) (Naḥḥās), and even the burning of trees and the killing of animals which do not benefit the enemy (Ibn Kathīr).

⁴³ Naḥḥās, vol. 1, p. 517; Ibn Kathīr, vol. 1, p. 401.

⁴⁴ The editor of Naḥḥās provides sources of this *ḥadīth* in virtually every collection of canonical *ḥadīth* (vol. 1, p. 517, n. 2).

⁴⁵ Ibn Kathīr, vol. 1, p. 401.

⁴⁶ Ibn al-Jawzī, pp. 70–72.

⁴⁷ The abrogating verses cited are 9:36: "Fight the idolators altogether as they fight you altogether . . . ; 2:191: . . . and slay them wherever you find them . . . ; 9:29: Fight those who believe not in God nor in the Last Day . . . ; 9:5 . . . kill the idolators wherever you may find them . . ."

⁴⁸ Naḥḥās, vol. 1, pp. 516–18. See also Ṭabarī, vol. 2, p. 190.

⁴⁹ See n. 3 above.

has any relationship with al-Ḥudaybiyya, it would be as the platform of members of the community who would have pointed to it to urge Muḥammad to refrain from engaging in an armed pilgrimage to Mecca. But without additional evidence, we must remain as uncertain of its significance as the traditional Muslim exegetes.

STAGE THREE: UNPROVOKED ATTACK IS ALLOWED, BUT ONE SHOULD IDEALLY CONTINUE TO OBSERVE THE TRADITIONAL ARABIAN STRICTURES REGARDING WAR AND RAIDS

Sūra 2:217

They ask you concerning fighting in the Sacred Month. Say: fighting therein is a grave [offence], but graver is it in the sight of God to keep [others] away from the path of God, denying him, [keeping people away from] the Sacred Mosque and driving out its members. *Fitna*⁵⁰ is worse than killing. They will not cease fighting you until they turn you back from your faith if they can. And if any turn back from their faith and die in unbelief, their works will come to nothing in this life, and in the hereafter they will be companions of the Fire and will abide therein forever.

The occasion for this revelation is universally acknowledged as the raid led by ʿAbdallah b. Jahsh al-Asadī in which a Meccan caravan driver named ʿAmr b. al-Ḥaḍramī was killed. This is considered by some to be the first instance of Muslims causing a fatal casualty.⁵¹ The raid is dated in the year 624,⁵² two months before Badr,⁵³ and the killing took place either on the first day of the month of Jumāda al-Ākhira or on the last day of Rajab, one of the four “Sacred Months” during which fighting in the pre-Islamic period was forbidden. The uncertainty of the day is a natural result of the calendrical system of that period in which the moon is the primary measurer of time because the beginning of the month could be established only by actual observation of the new crescent moon.⁵⁴ The traditional narrations of the story of the raid and the killing are quite aware of the issue because of the ancient Arabian prohibition against warring during the Sacred Months and the resulting Qurayshite condemnation of Muḥammad for condoning fighting during the prohibited time. According to one version, for example, the raiders took counsel before their attack and said: “If we let them be this evening, they will [have time to] enter the sacred area of Mecca [the *ḥaram*] and we will not be able to get them. So they decided that they should attack them.”⁵⁵ When they were explaining the situation later to Muḥammad, they said: “O Messenger of God, we killed Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī as it was becoming evening. We looked at the crescent moon of Rajab, and we did not know whether we hit him in Rajab or in Jumāda.”⁵⁶

⁵⁰ Glossed in the commentaries usually as idolatry, although the root meaning is that of temptation, testing, or proving (Ibn al-Jawzī, *Nuzhat al-Aʿyun al-Nawāzīr fī ʿIlm al-Wujūh wal-Nazāʾir* [n.p., n.d.], pp. 477–80; Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Al-Mufradāt fī Ghariḥ al-Qurʾān* [Cairo, n.d.], pp. 378–79).

⁵¹ Wāḥidī pp. 36 and 37. For this well-known story, see also the *Sira*, pp. 286–89; Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh al-Rusul wal-Mulūk*, ed. M. J. DeGoeje as *Annales* (Leiden, 1964), pp. 1273–80 (English translation, *The History of al-Ṭabarī* [Albany, 1987], vol. 7, pp. 18–23); *Tanwir al-Miqbās*, p. 29; *Tafsir Muqātil*, p. 184; *Tafsir Mujāhid*,

pp. 231–32; Ibn al-Jawzī, p. 80; Ṭabarī, vol. 2, pp. 347–52; Nasafī, vol. 1, p. 138; Ibn Kathīr, vol. 1, pp. 447 f., etc.

⁵² Naḥḥās, vol. 1, p. 538.

⁵³ Wāḥidī, p. 36.

⁵⁴ See sūra 10:5, etc., and the article, “Zamān” in *EI*¹ (reprint 1987), vol. 8, pp. 1207 ff.

⁵⁵ Wāḥidī, p. 37; Ṭabarī, vol. 2, p. 348; *Sira*, p. 287.

⁵⁶ Wāḥidī, p. 38. See also *Tafsir Muqātil*, p. 186. Some sources consider the day to have been both the last day of Jumāda al-Ākhira and the first day of Rajab (*Tafsir Mujāhid*, p. 231 [two traditions]; Ṭabarī, vol. 2, pp. 349–52 [four traditions given on the authorities of

Because of the overwhelming importance of nonaggression during the Sacred Months in pre-Islamic times, the Quraysh used the issue to try to undermine Muḥammad's authority. They are cited as proclaiming: "You claim to observe the sanctity of the Sacred Month and the sacred city, but you killed during the Sacred Month!"⁵⁷ The verse itself alludes to accusations against Muḥammad ("They ask you concerning fighting in the Sacred Month"), and the context of the raid seems to fit the meaning of the Qur^ʿānic revelation. It neither disparages the importance of the Sacred Month nor absolutely forbids fighting during it but, rather, finds a compromise by extending the permission for defensive fighting to apply against all Meccan Quraysh in every situation and to even allow the expanded prescription to occasionally overrule the ancient prohibition of all manner of fighting during the Sacred Months. It is preferable not to engage in fighting during these months of peace, but if necessary, the old pre-Islamic tradition may be overruled.

Most of the sources agree that 2:217 was indeed abrogated and that fighting during the Sacred Months was no longer restricted in any way. Most cite the famous "sword verse" [9:5]: "When the sacred months are past, kill the idolators wherever you find them. . . ."⁵⁸ This is understood to mean that with the passing of the current Sacred Months which must be honored, fighting in God's cause need never again be compromised by time or place. Verse 9:5, however, probably refers to an entirely different set of "Sacred Months" which represent a period or periods of time during which certain established pacts between Muḥammad and various non-Muslim groups and individuals remained in effect before being canceled.⁵⁹ It is important to sort out the meaning of "Sacred Month" in both 2:217 and 9:5. If 9:5 was meant to eliminate the contracted "Sacred Months," then it would not apply to the institution of the old "peace months" of pre-Islamic Arabia. That it was applied to the other suggests that this verse was used out of its intended context in order to weaken an old and hoary tradition that was not easily given up by some within the Muslim community.

One occasionally runs across a citation of the view attributed to ʿAṭāʾ holding that 2:217 was never abrogated outright and that fighting during the Sacred Month remained strongly discouraged but not absolutely condemned.⁶⁰ Al-Ṭabarsī asserts that fighting remains prohibited during the Sacred Months among Shiʿite jurists but only against those who likewise accept the sanctity of the Sacred Months.⁶¹ In some cases, a *ḥadīth* is cited in which Muḥammad would not fight during the Sacred Month except in self-defense.⁶² Other *ḥadīths* are occasionally cited in support of abrogation of the rule of the Sacred Month.

Mujāhid, al-Suddī, and Ibn ʿAbbās)). Very few traditions name the day as the *last* rather than the first day of Rajab (Wāḥidī, p. 36). See also Ibn al-Jawzī, p. 80; *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, p. 30; Ibn Kathīr, vol. 1, p. 447; *Tafsīr Muqātil*, vol. 1, p. 185; Nasafī, vol. 1, p. 138, etc.

⁵⁷ Ṭabārī, vol. 2, p. 351.

⁵⁸ Qatāda b. Diʿāma al-Sadūsī, *Kitāb al-Nāsikh wal-Mansūkh fī Kitāb Allāh Taʿālā*, ed. Ḥatīm Ṣāliḥ al-Dāmin (Beirut, 1406/1985), p. 33; Ibn al-Jawzī, pp. 81–82; Naḥḥās, vol. 1, pp. 536–37; Nasafī, vol. 1, p. 138; Ṭabārī, vol. 2, p. 353.

⁵⁹ See comments on *sūra* 9:5 below.

⁶⁰ Ibn al-Jawzī, p. 81; Ṭabārī, vol. 2, p. 353; Naḥḥās, vol. 1, p. 535.

⁶¹ Mahmoud Ayoub, *The Qurʿān and Its Interpreters* (Albany, 1984), p. 223.

⁶² Connected to this stubborn refusal to disregard completely the old pre-Islamic custom of peaceful months are the occasional references to pre-Islamic custom regarding the Sacred Months. One tradition cites an ancient ritual of acknowledging the arrival of the Sacred Month along with the vow not to seek revenge during that period (Ibn al-Jawzī, p. 81). Another acknowledges the effectiveness of the Sacred Month, during which a proud Arab might meet the killer of his own father or brother and still not make any move to enact revenge, while still another tradition mentions that a tribe referred to the Sacred Month as "the deaf" because of the tranquility resulting from the lack of clatter from weapons during it (Ṭabārī, vol. 2, p. 346).

Muḥammad, for example, is said to have ordered attacks against the Hawāzin at Hunayn and the Thaqif at al-Ṭāʿif during the Sacred Months of Shawwāl and Dhū al-Qaʿda.⁶³

Rather than representing a spot on a linear continuum moving from avoidance of aggression to all-out aggression, 2:217 appears to represent a faction within the new Muslim community that wished to preserve the ancient Arabian custom of the Sacred Months. It recognizes the need to engage in battle during this sacred period but considers it a grave act which should nevertheless be avoided whenever possible.⁶⁴ This view was eventually eliminated by the new and innovative approach of militant Islam which relied for its authority on a verse (9:5) treating a similar but unrelated issue.

Sūra 2:191

“And kill them wherever you find them, and turn them out from where they have turned you out; for *fitna*⁶⁵ is worse than killing. Do not fight them at the Sacred Mosque unless they fight you there; but if they fight you, kill them. Such is the reward of the unbelievers.”

This verse, as has been noted, occurs immediately after 2:190, which Wāḥidī associates with the agreement of al-Ḥudaybiyya. Yet neither Wāḥidī nor any of the other exegetes in our sample associate *this* verse with al-Ḥudaybiyya, despite the fact noted above that by discouraging fighting at the Sacred Mosque, it could be easily understood to support Muḥammad’s controversial decision to compromise with the Quraysh.

Naḥḥās mentions that *sūra* 9, containing verses which are considered by most to have abrogated 2:191, was revealed two years after *sūra* 2.⁶⁶ Since the Declaration of Immunity (*barāʿa*) of *sūra* 9 is nearly universally associated with the pilgrimage led by Abū Bakr in 631, then the date of much of *sūra* 2 would have to be 629, an assumption which would place it some six years after the generally accepted date of *sūra* 2.⁶⁷ According to Nasafī, the revelation of 2:191 was God’s promise that the Muslims would capture Mecca, which would of course place it shortly before 630.⁶⁸

The exegetes concentrate on the second part of the verse treating fighting at the Sacred Mosque. Most state in their own words, and without citing supportive exegetical traditions, that the purpose of the revelation was to restrict fighting at the Sacred Mosque and, by extension, throughout the Sacred Precinct except in self-defense.⁶⁹

Naḥḥās sums up the view that 2:191 restricts within sacred space what outside that space would be allowed as unlimited fighting, just as 2:217 restricts within sacred time (the Sacred Months) what outside of that time would be allowed as unlimited fighting. He adds that 2:194 defines when fighting within these restrictions of time and space is allowed, namely, whenever the enemy “exceeds limits” against the unbelievers. When this occurs, the believers may in turn exceed the normal rules of military behavior defining the limits of what is allowable in fighting [2:194]: “Whoever exceeds the limits against you, you may exceed the limits against him likewise.”⁷⁰

⁶³ Ṭabarī, vol. 2, p. 354.

⁶⁴ An earlier parallel to this phenomenon might be found in the Jewish Hasmonean decision to fight even during the Sabbath when necessary.

⁶⁵ See n. 50 above.

⁶⁶ Naḥḥās, vol. 1, p. 521.

⁶⁷ *Sūra* 2 tends to be dated from soon after the Hijra to the year 2 or 3 (624–25). This, of course, does not

preclude the association of specific verses with later periods, however.

⁶⁸ Nasafī, vol. 1, p. 123. See also Bell, *The Qurʾān*, vol. 1, p. 26.

⁶⁹ *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, p. 26; Ibn Kathīr, vol. 1, p. 402; Nasafī, vol. 1, p. 123; Ṭabarī, vol. 2, p. 191, etc.

⁷⁰ Naḥḥās, vol. 1, p. 222.

Tafsīr Muqātil suggests that there are three levels to the meaning, and by extension, revelation of this verse: "When '... and kill them wherever you find them' was revealed, God restricted this rule from application in the Sacred Precinct of Mecca ('... but do not fight them at the sacred mosque')." But this restriction was relaxed by the words, "... unless they fight you there . . .," meaning that fighting in self-defense is allowed without restriction even in the Sacred Precinct.⁷¹ In other words, the third part of the verse relaxed the second part, which restricted the first part.

The sword verse (9:5) is cited most often as the verse abrogating 2:191. Verse 2:193, however, is also cited: "Fight them until there is no *fitna* and the religion becomes God's, but if they cease, let there be no hostility except against the oppressors."⁷²

Some felt that 2:191 remained in force based on the view that fighting may be allowed in the Sacred Precinct as a defensive measure that should be avoided if possible. This, of course, would be a logical response of those who would be uninclined to liberalize the ancient taboo against fighting in the Sacred Precinct, even in the name of Islam. Naḥḥās points out that 2:191 is "one of the most difficult among the abrogating and abrogated verses," and that adherents of each view used *ḥadīths* from the canonical collections for support.⁷³ Yet both he and the encyclopedic commentary of Ṭabarī cite only Mujāhid as an authority for traditions claiming that the verse is not abrogated.⁷⁴

STAGE FOUR: UNCONDITIONAL COMMAND TO FIGHT ALL UNBELIEVERS

Sūra 2:216

"Fighting is prescribed for you [though] it is disagreeable to you. But it is possible that you dislike something which is good for you and that you love something which is bad for you. God knows, but you know not."

Verse 2:216 is not generally tied into an occasion of revelation, although *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* links it with the following verse (2:217) and gives its occasion of revelation as the raid of ʿAbdullāh b. Jaḥsh.⁷⁵ The item of greatest import for the exegetes is the problematic word in the first sentence, *kuṭiba* [ʿalaykum], meaning literally "written [for you]", which is invariably paraphrased as *furiḍa* ʿalaykum, "it is prescribed upon you." The major issue discussed by the commentators is whether the requirement to fight is prescribed upon every individual Muslim male who must go out to war (*farḍ wājib*) or whether it may be technically required but ignored by many if enough others are willing to fight (*farḍ kifāya*).

One opinion, ultimately rejected by al-Shāfʿī and others, is that the requirement to fight was incumbent only upon the Companions of the Prophet.⁷⁶ Another opinion which is also rejected suggests that fighting is recommended (ʿalā al-nadab) but not required (lā ʿalā al-wujūb) and cites the exclusion of war from the five pillars of Islam for support.⁷⁷ Some early commentaries consider the ordinance required (*farḍ*), although they do not specify whether it be *farḍ wujūb* or *farḍ kifāya*.⁷⁸ Later commentaries make it clear that the obligation to fight is *farḍ kifāya* unless an emergency requires that all able-bodied males bear arms.⁷⁹

⁷¹ *Tafsīr Muqātil*, p. 168.

⁷² Naḥḥās, vol. 1, p. 520; Ṭabarī, vol. 2, pp. 192–93.

⁷³ Naḥḥās, vol. 1, p. 519.

⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 519–20; Ṭabarī, vol. 2, p. 192.

⁷⁵ P. 29 (see pp. 10–11 above).

⁷⁶ Attributed to ʿAtāʾ (Naḥḥās, vol. 1, pp. 531–32; Ibn al-Jawzī, pp. 79–80; Ṭabarī, vol. 2, p. 344).

⁷⁷ Attributed to Ibn ʿUmar, Ibn Shabrama, and Sufyān al-Thawrī (Naḥḥās, vol. 1, pp. 531–33).

⁷⁸ *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, p. 29; *Tafsīr Muqātil*, vol. 1, p. 184.

⁷⁹ Ibn al-Jawzī, p. 79; Naḥḥās, vol. 1, pp. 532–34; Ibn Kathīr, vol. 1, p. 446; and Ṭabarī, vol. 2, pp. 344–45.

The issue of abrogation is spelled out most clearly by Ibn al-Jawzī,⁸⁰ who considered the verse to be abrogating but also qualified, based on his view that the requirement to fight evolved in three stages.

The first is prevention from fighting, which is understandable from verse 4:77: "Have you not seen those unto whom it was said: 'Withhold your hands?'"⁸¹ Then this [withholding of hands mentioned in verse 4:77] was abrogated with this verse [2:216], and the obligation [to fight] was imposed upon all. The verse [9:41] "Go forth lightly [armed] and heavily [armed]" supports this.⁸² Then the matter became established that when a group engages in *jihād* (*idhā qāma bil-jihād qawm^{un}*), [the obligation] falls away from the remainder (*saqaṭa ʿalā al-bāqin*) according to the verse [9:122] "The believers should not all go forth; if only a group from every contingent go forth. . . ." The correct view (*al-ṣaḥīḥ*) is that the verse [2:216] "Fighting is prescribed for you . . ." is in force and that the requirement of *jihād* is necessary for everyone, except that this [requirement is in the category of] collective obligations (*furūd al-kifāyāt*). If a group engages in it, [the obligation] falls away from the remainder and there is no reason for abrogation.

In short, according to Ibn al-Jawzī's schema, stage one referred to by 4:77 was the prohibition from fighting.⁸³ In stage two every individual [male of fighting age and fitness] was required to fight (*farḍ wujūb*); but in stage three, although technically required, one was not always obliged to respond to the call unless needed (*farḍ kifāya*).

Ibn al-Jawzī's discussion centered over whether *sūra* 9:122 ["The believers should not all go forth"] actually abrogates 2:216. Verse 9:122 is often cited to support the view that fighting for religion is *farḍ kifāya*, although those who object state that considering 9:122 an abrogating verse would forever keep fighting from being a *farḍ wājib*, even in time of crisis. Thus, according to this view, our verse is not abrogated but merely qualified in that not every individual need not go off to war in most cases, although the technical requirement remains in effect.⁸⁴

The commentary on this verse too displays an obvious lack of consistency. A variety of opinions is expressed and no real consensus may be found. It is interesting to note that the "good" (*khayr*) or "bad" (*sharr*) of war is measured in these sources according to material rather than ideological standards. Fighting is good ". . . because following the fighting is victory and triumph over the enemy and the capture of their towns, wealth, progeny, and children."⁸⁵

Sūra 9:5

"But when the Sacred Months are past, kill the idolators wherever you find them and seize them, beleaguer them, and lie in wait for them in every place of ambush; but if they

⁸⁰ Ibn al-Jawzī, p. 79.

⁸¹ Sūra 4:77: "Have you not seen those unto whom it was said: withhold your hands, establish worship and pay the alms tax, but when fighting was prescribed for them, some of them fear mankind even as their fear of God or with greater fear, and say: our Lord! why have you ordained fighting for us? If only You would give us respite for a while!"

⁸² Sūra 9:41: "Go forth lightly [armed] or heavily [armed] and strive (*jāhidū*) with your wealth and your lives in the way of God. That is best for you, if you only knew."

⁸³ He does not cite 15:94–95 or 16:125 in support of this early stage.

⁸⁴ Nahḥās, vol. 1, pp. 530–32.

⁸⁵ Ibn Kathīr, vol. 1, p. 446. Or good is defined as God making the result " . . . victory, spoils, and martyrdom" (*Tafsīr Muqātil*, vol. 1, p. 184). Or " . . . victory and spoils or martyrdom and the Garden (Nasafī, vol. 1, p. 137). Or " . . . booty, splendor, martyrdom, but in refraining so that you do not conquer the idolators, you will not be martyred and will not gain anything" (Ṭabari, vol. 2, p. 345).

repent, establish regular prayers and pay the alms tax, then open the way for them, for God is forgiving, merciful.”

Although Wāḥidī does not include the first eleven verses of *sūra* 9 in his book, the overwhelming consensus considers the “Declaration of Immunity” [*barāʿa*, the first word of the *sūra* and the general subject for the first twenty-nine verses] to have been revealed to Muḥammad in the month of Shawwāl and publicly declared in Mecca by ʿAlī during the pilgrimage led by Abū Bakr in 630.⁸⁶

The exegetes treat four issues presented in this, the classic “sword verse:” (1) the meaning of the “Sacred Months,” (2) whether or not unbelieving prisoners must be killed, (3) why only three of the five pillars of Islam may be construed from the verse, and (4) the purpose of fighting. Only the first and last issues relate to the current discussion.

Ibn Kathīr and Ṭabarī record the differences of opinion regarding the definition of the sacred months.⁸⁷ The question centers on whether these sacred months are the four honored in the pre-Islamic period and usually listed as al-Muḥarram, Rajab, Dhū al-Qaʿda, and Dhū al-Ḥijja or whether they represent a special period of nonbelligerency established by Muḥammad with the announcement of *barāʿa* after which all prior pacts with idolators would be broken and fighting commence against all non-Muslims.

Tanwīr al-Miqbās and *Tafsīr Muqātil* conflate the two by defining the special time period set aside by Muḥammad after *barāʿa* as the remainder of the Sacred Month of Dhū al-Ḥijja and the entire following Sacred Month of al-Muḥarram. Since according to the prevalent view, the announcement of *barāʿa* was declared on the tenth day of Dhū al-Ḥijja,⁸⁸ and the following month of al-Muḥarram is thirty days, that special period lasted exactly fifty days.⁸⁹ This view is also provided in Ṭabarī.

The second and more common view is that the Sacred Months referred to in 9:5 are the four stipulated in 9:2: “Go throughout the land, then, for four months.” Since the time of the announcement of *barāʿa* was Dhū al-Ḥijja 10, the Sacred Months of protection for those having pacts would include twenty days of Dhū al-Ḥijja, all of al-Muḥarram and Ṣafar, and ten days of Rabīʿ al-Ākhir.⁹⁰ It should be interesting to note that although the first interpretation (which conflates the two concepts of Sacred Months) is only a small minority view among the sources, 9:5 is nevertheless cited regularly and without attribution to a named source as the verse abrogating the pre-Islamic tradition of Sacred Months during which all manner of fighting was forbidden.

The purpose of fighting is to bring people to witness God’s unity (the understanding of the word “repent”—*tābū*—in the verse), to pray, and to give the alms tax. This provides some insight into the justification or goal of fighting beyond the propagandistic goals of material gain noted previously. The verse itself sets the criteria for refraining from fighting: “If they repent, establish regular prayers, and pay the alms tax, then open the way for them.” This is made explicit only in later works such as Ṭabarī and following him Ibn

⁸⁶ See *Sira*, pp. 617 ff.

⁸⁷ Ṭabarī, vol. 10, pp. 77, 79; Ibn Kathīr, vol. 3, p. 364.

⁸⁸ For a discussion on this issue, see Ṭabarī, vol. 10, pp. 77–79.

⁸⁹ *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, p. 153; *Tafsīr Muqātil*, vol. 2, p. 157. Both are referring to this period of nonbelligerency between the believers and those with whom they had previous agreements or pacts. It seems that later

on, this period of fifty days of nonbelligerency was understood to have been with reference to those with whom there were no pacts. With regard to those with whom the Muslims had pacts, their period of nonbelligerency was a four full months (Ṭabarī, vol. 10, pp. 59–60).

⁹⁰ Ṭabarī, vol. 10, p. 79. For a much fuller discussion, see *ibid.*, pp. 58–63.

Kathīr,⁹¹ where repentance is defined as renouncing idols and worshiping God and that performing regular prayer and giving the alms tax can be observed immediately as outward manifestations of Muslim observance. The verse is therefore seen as calling upon the Muslims after the end of the Sacred Months to kill or seize idolators everywhere unless or until they bear witness to the three requirements mentioned above. This is made explicit through the citation of a *ḥadīth* attributed to Ibn ʿUmar that Muḥammad said: “I was commanded to fight the people until they gave the witnessing, ‘There is no god but God, and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God’, and that they establish prayer and give the alms tax.” Somewhat different criteria are cited in a *ḥadīth* attributed to Anas: “[Muḥammad] said: I was commanded to fight the people until they witnessed that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is the Apostle of God and they turn to our direction of prayer and eat of our sacrifices and pray our prayers. Then their blood is forbidden to us except by law.”

Ibn Kathīr further understands from this verse that all nonbelievers must be systematically fought until killed or until they become Muslims [or, presumably, they pay the *jizya* if Scriptuaries].⁹² He stresses, however, that one must not be overwhelmed with “naked passion” against them in a burst of fighting during, for example, the height of the conquest when blood is hot and passions are high. “Beleaguer them and lie in wait for them in every hiding place” is understood as the systematic subjection of all non-Muslims.⁹³

Ibn Kathīr’s late and systematized view holds that four Qurʾānic “sword verses” refer specifically to four types of people against whom the Muslims are obligated to fight: 9:5 refers to fighting the idolators; 9:29 refers to fighting the Scriptuaries until they pay the *jizya*; 9:73 [“O Prophet, fight the unbelievers and the hypocrites”] refers to fighting those who outwardly appear as Muslims but who actually oppose Muḥammad and the community of Islam; and 49:4⁹⁴ refers to righting Muslims who unjustly oppress other Muslims. Verse 9:5, which is cited more than any other verse as abrogating less aggressive Qurʾānic revelation, is said to have abrogated 124 verses of the Qurʾān.⁹⁵

Sūra 9:29

“Fight those who believe not in God nor the Last Day, nor forbid that which God and His messenger forbid, nor profess the religion of truth from among the People of the Book until they give the *jizya* tax by hand (*ʿan yadīn*), being subdued (*wahum ṣāghirūn*).

The revelation of 9:29 is associated with the raid on Tabūk in 630 (after Rajab 9 A.H.).⁹⁶ This verse is acknowledged as the first command specifically for fighting Scriptuaries, and all acknowledge that Muḥammad’s decision to send a raiding party to fight the Byzantines occurred after having received 9:29. The Muslims had by this time subdued the Ḥijāz and were expanding, so the decision to move into Christian areas would be an understandable next step.

⁹¹ Ibid., 10, p. 78; Ibn Kathīr, vol. 3, pp. 364–65.

⁹² The status of Scriptuaries or “Peoples of the Book” will be discussed below.

⁹³ Ibn Kathīr, vol. 3, p. 364.

⁹⁴ “If two parties among the Believers fight one another, make peace between them; but if one of them treats the other unjustly, then fight against the one that

transgresses until it complies with the command of God. But if it complies, then make peace between them with justice, and be fair, for God loves the just.”

⁹⁵ Ibn al-Jawzī, p. 173.

⁹⁶ *Tafsīr Mujāhid*, p. 367; Ṭabarī, vol. 10, pp. 109–10; Ibn Kathīr, vol. 3, pp. 382–83.

Verse 9:29 is cited by Naḥḥās as abrogating virtually all verses calling for patience or forgiveness toward Scriptuaries.⁹⁷ It was also suggested that 9:29 even abrogated 9:5, although it is seen more as qualifying 9:5 in that the latter required the killing of idolators (*mushrikūn*) [a term which often includes Scriptuaries], while 9:29 specifically excluded the killing of Scriptuaries if they pay the *jizya*.⁹⁸

The commentators devote most of their interest to defining the difficult terms: *jizya*, *ʿan yadⁱⁿ*, and *ṣāghirūn*, but the standard view of abrogation in relation to war is summed up by Naḥḥās in his discussion of this verse:

It is clear that some [of the verses] are abrogated, including [2:109] "Forgive and be indulgent," because the believers were in Mecca at the [early] time and were being beaten (*yudribūna*) and were released from fighting the idolators. They were . . . commanded to be forgiving and indulgent until God brought His command. God then brought His command and abrogated that.⁹⁹

IV. CONCLUSION

It may be observed from the exegesis of the nine verses examined here that the commentaries preserve little consistent tradition associated with the Qur'ānic ordinances on fighting but, rather, express differing views and faithfully cite contradictory traditions preserved from earlier periods. Despite the lack of consistency, these verses are cited by the legal literature (and following them, Western scholars) in such a way as to suggest a historical development in the Qur'ānic command to fight for religion. The schema, as has been noted, suggests an evolution of Qur'ānic pronouncements from the earliest period of revelation when fighting opponents of Islam was forbidden to the latest period when it was aggressively encouraged. We have observed, however, that the chronology of revelation as established by the exegetes, their association of verses with events in the mission of the Prophet, and the reasoning behind their associations are far from consistent.

The fact is that the conflicting Qur'ānic verses cannot prove an evolution of the concept or sanction for religious war in Islam from a nonaggressive to a militant stance. To suggest that they do is nothing more than an interpretation applied to the obvious problem of disparity in the Qur'ānic revelations treating war. As Morton Smith has argued with regard to the Bible, every statement in favor of a particular position suggests the existence of counter positions as well.¹⁰⁰ It is just as likely that the conflicting verses of revelation articulate different views or factions existing *simultaneously* within the early Muslim community, each referring to different scriptural sources for support of its views.

⁹⁷ Some of the verses which it is assumed to have abrogated include: 2:109: "Many of the People of Scripture long to make you disbelievers after your belief, through envy on their own account, after the truth has become manifest to them. Forgive and be indulgent (toward them) until God gives the command. God is able to do all things." (Naḥḥās, vol. 1, p. 514); verse 5:13: "And because of their breaking their covenant, We have cursed them and made hard their hearts. They change words from their context and forget a part of that whereof they were admonished. You will not cease to discover treachery from all save a few of them. But bear with them and pardon them. God loves the

kindly" (Naḥḥās, vol. 2, p. 273); verse 6:106: "Follow that which is inspired in you from your Lord; there is no God but Him; and turn away from the idolators" (Naḥḥās, vol. 2, p. 355); verse 29:46: "Do not argue with the People of Scripture unless it be in a way which is better" (Naḥḥās, vol. 2, p. 576); verse 42:15: "Unto us our works and unto you your works" (Naḥḥās, vol. 2, p. 614); verse 50:39: "So bear with what they say" (Naḥḥās, vol. 3, p. 320).

⁹⁸ Naḥḥās, vol. 2, p. 432.

⁹⁹ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 515.

¹⁰⁰ Morton Smith, *Palestinian Parties and Politics That Shaped the Old Testament* (New York, 1971).

Nonmilitant factions, for example, would have referred to verses such as 15:94–95 or 16:125 or a number of other verses for support of their programs.¹⁰¹ We have noted also that statements and incidents in the official biography of the Prophet portray Muḥammad as sometimes having acted in such a nonmilitant manner that he aroused significant opposition within the Muslim community.

It is to be expected, based on our knowledge of human social behavior, that a variety of factions were organized within the early Muslim community. The biographies of the Prophet, Islamic histories treating his mission, and Qurʾānic revelations themselves support this by reporting that Muḥammad had his detractors within the community and that factions formed over various issues. Among these factions was a group which is described in the Qurʾān as refusing to go out to battle [4:95]: “Not equal are those believers who sit [at home], except those disabled and those who strive and fight in the cause of God with their goods and their persons. God has favored in status those who strive and fight with their goods and persons over those who sit [at home]. Unto all [believers] has God promised good. But those who strive and fight has He distinguished above all those who sit [at home] by a great reward.” Those refusing to fight are portrayed elsewhere in the Qurʾān as selfish and liable for punishment.¹⁰²

A number of other Qurʾānic passages also suggest that certain groups or individuals were not prone to militancy.¹⁰³ Moreover, the very large number of exhortations calling Muslims to engage in battle against their detractors suggests that significant portions of the community were not inclined to do so. Those refusing to set out on the expeditions are portrayed as being cowardly, selfish, or simply uncommitted to God’s religion, but these criticisms would naturally be directed toward opposition groups or factions taking an opposing stand from that which was eventually adopted. It is clear from the Qurʾān that the Muslim community was not of one mind regarding fighting during the period of Muḥammad’s leadership. More and less militant factions competed for the support of the Prophet and/or the community, and these factions cited divine authority for their views by referring to the words of God as revealed in the Qurʾān. Militant groups promoting aggressive behavior toward opponents of Islam eventually won the day. Their program is supported by militant scriptural passages, especially in what are dated as the “later” revelations, and this faithful ammunition exceeds the number of scriptural supports which were cited by their opponents. But because Scripture cannot be “erased,” something had to be done with the contradictory divine words. The theory of *naskh* (abrogation) accounts for the problem. That a winning militant faction was not entirely successful in burying the views of less or nonmilitant approaches is clear from the retention of nonmilitant views in the early exegetical literature as well as in Scripture, not to mention the general confusion that we have noted is associated with these scriptural verses and their exegesis. Some traditions such as those stating that the Muslims used to hate fighting,¹⁰⁴ refer to the prominence of

¹⁰¹ See also 2:109, 5:13, 6:106, 15:85, 29:46, 42:15, and 50:39, which are referred to by the exegetes themselves as suggesting nonmilitant pronouncements.

¹⁰² See also 2:216 examined above and 9:38–39: “O Believers! What is with you, that when it is said to you: go forth in the path of God, you are bowed down to the ground with heaviness. Do you prefer the life of

this world over the Hereafter? The comfort of the life of the world is but little in the Hereafter. If you do not go forth He will punish you with a painful doom, and will choose a different people in place of you.”

¹⁰³ See 3:167, 4:75, 4:77, 9:38.

¹⁰⁴ Ṭabarī, vol. 2, p. 345.

nonmilitant groups which temporarily epitomized the sentiments of a large segment of the community or perhaps even the community altogether.¹⁰⁵

In a similar vein, the Qur'ānic verses and exegetical views expressing support for the old prohibition against fighting during the Sacred Months represent a conservative view advocating retention of this pre-Islamic custom.¹⁰⁶ These Sacred Months had been a moderating institution which prevented even the hottest of blood feuds from enabling one Arabian faction to dominate the others. It forced a truce at strategic periods every year during which each tribe would have the opportunity to recover, thereby preventing any single tribe or confederation of tribes from overwhelming the others.¹⁰⁷ The problem of the institution of the Sacred Months for militant Islam was that it hindered the new super-tribe of Muslims from completing the goal of mastery over all of the Ḥijāz. It therefore had to abolish the institution, which it did through the support of divine revelation and its own particular exegesis. But not all divine revelations on the subject were consistent, and some could be understood to support the continued sanctity of the Sacred Months, as has been previously noted. Those groups upholding the traditional view on the Sacred Months were defeated by innovators desirous of establishing a break with what came to be defined as the evils of the pre-Islamic period. The major scriptural source for their platform is 9:5, which as has been noted from early Islamic exegesis as well as its purported context given in the Qur'ān, seems to refer to an entirely different institution of "sacred months." Nevertheless, just as less militant factions within the early Muslim community were defeated on the issue of warring against the detractors of Islam, so were those upholding the old institution of the sacred months also defeated by the innovative and militant factions of the growing Muslim community.

¹⁰⁵ ^cAbd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī refers to a ninth-century group known as the Mazyāriyya or Babākiyya, which did not require the fighting of polytheists or fasting during Ramaḍān (*Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Farq Bayn al-Firaq*, ed. P. Hitti [Cairo, 1924], p. 163).

¹⁰⁶ ^cAtā', who is referred to as being adamantly opposed to fighting during the Sacred Months, represents such an approach. His opinion that the prohibition or at least discouragement of fighting during those times

was never abrogated is regularly cited in the discussions (Ibn al-Jawzī, pp. 80–81; Ṭabarī, vol. 2, p. 353; Naḥḥās, vol. 1, p. 535). Mujāhid also inclines in this direction and tends to take a less militant stand than others on a number of issues.

¹⁰⁷ This certainly would have been the case for the century prior to the rise of Islam and subsequent to the demise of the Kinda in the early sixth century C.E. (A. Grohmann, "al-^cArab," *EI*², vol. 1, pp. 526–27).

FOUR THOUSAND YEARS OF EVOLUTION: ON A LAW OF HISTORICAL CHANGE IN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN

LEO DEPUYDT, *Brown University*

Ter nagedachtenis van Jan Quaegebeur

ALTHOUGH the distinction of being the earliest written language must probably go to Sumerian, Egyptologists can, and do often, proudly refer to the fact that no language is attested in written sources over a longer period of time than Egyptian. This statement may, however, at some point in the future be challenged by Chinese, which is still alive. This is not the place, however, to calibrate variables in order to estimate the length of the period in which Egyptian was both spoken and written. Neither the beginning of this period (probably sometime between 3000 and 2500 B.C.E.) nor its end (probably sometime between 1000 and 1500 C.E.) can be precisely determined.¹ But the number "four thousand" in this paper's title does not seem in danger of being an outright false or utterly impossible approximation of the period's length in years.²

It seems that a history of Egyptian would be a useful thing, partly though surely not solely, because of the length of time over which the language is attested in writing. Babylonian celestial observations describing the positions of the planets at longer time intervals enabled Hellenic astronomers such as Hipparchus and Ptolemy to calculate various continuous motions in the planetary system. Along the same lines, the written sources of ancient Egypt, which capture the Egyptian language at certain moments in its long history, freezing it in time as it were, should allow students of language to postulate certain

¹ The period presumably begins with the earliest expression of Egyptian in writing and ends with the death of the last native speaker of Coptic, the language of Christian Egypt and the final stage of Egyptian. As to the beginning of the period, much depends on the linguistic interpretation of this peculiar corpus of early dynastic inscriptions that precede the eruption of full-fledged written Egyptian probably sometime around 2600 B.C.E. On these inscriptions, datable to about 3000–2600 B.C.E., see, recently, J. Kahl, *Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift in der 0.–3. Dynastie*, Göttinger Orientforschungen, IV. Reihe: Ägypten 29 (Wiesbaden, 1994). As to the end of the period, it is not known when Egyptian ceased being spoken entirely. It is probably safe to state that it became extinct, or at least mostly extinct, sometime not too long

after 1000 C.E. The emergence of the first Coptic grammars and dictionaries in Arabic in the thirteenth century C.E. indicate that Copts had to *learn* Coptic. This suggests that the language had at least very nearly perished, even if survival in small pockets cannot be excluded. Such possible survivals in medieval times would have evolved a great deal from the stage of the language reflected in the preserved Coptic literature. On the native Coptic grammatical tradition, see W. Vycichl, "Sullam," *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, vol. 8 (New York, 1991), pp. 204–7; A. Mallon, "Une école de savants égyptiens au moyen âge," *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de l'Université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth* 1 (1906): 109–31; 2 (1907): 213–64.

² As for Chinese, T. Bynon estimates its documented history at "only about three thousand years" (*Historical Linguistics*, Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics [Cambridge, 1977], p. 265). But her "5,000 years or so which link Ancient Egyptian with Modern Coptic" (*ibid.*) seem generous, for Egyptian may be considered to have stopped evolving when Coptic ceased being spoken, that is, before modern times.

fluid paths of change. The law of change in ancient Egyptian described in this paper represents such a continuum of change.³

On a Synchronic Law of Word Order

In 1892, the eminent Swiss philologist Jacob Wackernagel, F. Nietzsche's successor in Basel and W. Schulze's in Göttingen, published an article in the first volume of the journal *Indogermanische Forschungen* entitled "Über ein Gesetz der indogermanischen Wortstellung," describing a rule of word order in Indo-European languages. According to this rule, enclitic (from the Greek for "leaning against") words are found as far forward as possible in sentences though never at the beginning. Thus enclitic words are words that "lean against" one or more preceding words in the sense that they form a unit with a single accent together with those preceding words.

It soon appeared that what became known as Wackernagel's Law was also valid outside Indo-European. The behavior of enclitic words is recorded to a considerable extent, though not always with sufficient detail, in grammars of all stages of Egyptian.⁴ For example, Middle Egyptian grammars may report, first, the rules pertaining to the position of the four types of enclitic words in relation to other words and, second, the rules pertaining to the position of these four types in relation to one another. The four types of enclitic words in Middle Egyptian are (1) suffix pronouns attached to *n-*, "to, for"; (2) the dependent pronouns (*wj*, *tw*, etc.); (3) the "copula" *pw* as a basic component of substantial sentences, and (4) the enclitic particles, such as *js*, *rf*, *gr*, and *tr*.

On a Historical Law of Word Order

The purpose of the present paper is to observe and explain a principal law of historical change at work throughout the history of Egyptian. This law bears some relation to Wackernagel's because it also deals with word order and, in large part, with the position of enclitic words. But whereas Wackernagel's Law is synchronic, describing *rules* of word order, the present one is historical, describing *changes* in word order.

³ An abbreviated version of this paper was read on 7 September 1995 at the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists held at the University of Cambridge, 3–9 September 1995. The paper summarizes part of work in progress on a history of the Egyptian language. I have also drawn much benefit from presenting a paper entitled "On FORCE and *Strain* in the Evolution of Egyptian" in April 1993 at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. I thank Lanny Bell, Janet Johnson, Joseph Manning, and Edward Wente for their comments on that occasion and Janet Johnson for making the discussion possible.

I dedicate this article to the memory of the distinguished Flemish Egyptologist Jan Quaegebeur (14.XII.1943–10.VIII.1995). The news of his unexpected death reached me the day I finished this paper.

⁴ In Egyptian grammar, the pioneering study on enclitic words is Hans Abel's *Zur Tonverschmelzung*

im Altaegyptischen (Leipzig, 1910). The only other monograph devoted to the subject in the realm of Egyptian, M. Gilula's "Milliyyōt Enqlitīyyōt b-Miṣrīt Qlassit" [Enclitic particles in Classical Egyptian] (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, 1968), remains unpublished. For Egyptological and other bibliography on the topic, with a description of the behavior of enclitic particles in Coptic, see A. Shisha-Halevy, *Coptic Grammatical Categories: Structural Studies in the Syntax of Shenoutean Sahidic*, *Analecta Orientalia* 53 (Rome, 1986), pp. 165 ff. On Middle Egyptian, see also J. F. Borghouts, "Prominence Constructions and Pragmatic Functions," *Crossroad: Chaos or the Beginning of a New Paradigm: Papers from the Conference on Egyptian Grammar, Helsingør 28–30 May 1986*, Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications 1 (Copenhagen, 1986), pp. 45–70.

Five distinct shifts in the evolution of Egyptian—Shifts 1 to 3, regular and stable, Shifts 4 and 5, much less so—will all be interpreted as effects of a single cause, namely, the interplay between four trends in the evolution of Egyptian. Only Shifts 1, 4, and 5 have, to my knowledge, been observed before, be it marginally and without explanation. The five shifts are the effects. The interplay between the four trends is the cause. The term “law” is chosen here to denote this relation between cause and effect. A much telescoped definition of the law is that *the loss of the suffix conjugation (Trend 1) over the centuries ultimately caused, or at least was a necessary condition for, various changes in word order.*⁵

Four Trends at Work throughout Egyptian

1. The first trend is typical of Egyptian, even if it is not without parallels in many other languages. This trend consists itself of *two complementary tendencies*. The first tendency is the gradual *decline of the suffix conjugation*. The second tendency is the concomitant *rise of verb forms exhibiting the infinitive as component*.

The term “suffix conjugation” here collectively denotes verb forms in which conjugation according to person, gender, and number is expressed by suffix pronouns *attached to or following* the stem, be it immediately, as in Late Egyptian *stp.f*, “he has chosen,” or with a so-called affix or infix intervening, as in Middle Egyptian *stp.n.f*, “he having chosen,” which features the past tense affix *n*. It is clear that the suffix conjugation in a sense survives in the conjugation bases that are so characteristic of the verbal system in the later stages of Egyptian. An example of a conjugation base is Coptic *af* in *af-sōtp*. But as a matter of definition, conjugation bases will not be considered instances of the suffix conjugation for the purposes of the present paper because the verbal stem (*sōtp*) *follows* the conjugation (*af*).

Trend 1 spans almost the entire history of the language, beginning in earliest Egyptian, with only vestiges of the suffix conjugation surviving in Coptic. The decline of the suffix conjugation can already be clearly observed as early as the Fifth Dynasty, around 2400 B.C.E., when the first verb forms featuring the infinitive, namely, *jw.f ḥr stp*, “he is choosing,” and *jw.f r stp*, “he will choose,” came into existence.⁶

Importantly, this first trend reached its greatest impetus when the decline of the suffix conjugation reached its end point when it just about completely left the language at the time of the transition from Demotic to Coptic. It therefore comes perhaps as no surprise

⁵ In writing this paper, I have attempted to heed W. R. Bodine’s recent plea to students of ancient Near Eastern languages, endorsing and renewing a broader appeal by H. A. Gleason, Jr., for efforts “to communicate with non-linguists, an openness to less formal statement, and a recognition of the dependence of linguistic models on an empirical base in language data.” See Bodine, “Linguistics and Philology in the Study of Ancient Near Eastern Languages,” in D. M. Golomb and S. T. Hollis, eds., “Working With No Data”: *Semitic and Egyptian Studies Presented to Thomas O. Lambdin* (Winona Lake, Indiana, 1987), pp. 39–54, at p. 40; Gleason, “Linguistics and Philology,” *On*

Language, Culture, and Religion: In Honor of Eugene A. Nida (The Hague, 1974), pp. 199–212, at pp. 210–11. More generally, S. J. Gould, another student of evolution, believes that “any conceptual complexity can be conveyed in ordinary English” (*Bully for Brontosaurus: Reflections in Natural History* [New York, 1993], p. 12).

⁶ E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, *Analecta Orientalia* 34 and 39 (Rome, 1955 and 1964), p. 417, §725. As J. Allen notes (*The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts*, *Bibliotheca Aegyptia* 2 [Malibu, 1984], pp. xv, 511–12, §722D), these verb forms do not yet occur in the Pyramid Texts.

that the historical law under discussion exhibited its greatest effect at that time. Indeed, four of the five shifts discussed below, numbers 2 to 5, can be dated roughly to the transition from Demotic to Coptic.

Trend 1 is itself also a principal component of an even larger tendency in the evolution of Egyptian, that is, the *tendency towards analysis*.⁷ This larger tendency is most conspicuous in the verbal system. An example is the evolution from Late Egyptian *stp.f*, "he has chosen," to Coptic *af-sōtp*, "he has chosen, he chose." In Late Egyptian *stp.f*, the grammatical meaning (past tense) and the lexical meaning ("choose") are "synthetic," which is Greek for "put or placed together"; that is, the two elements are intertwined in the stem *stp*. But in Coptic *af-sōtp*, the grammatical and lexical meanings are expressed separately, that is, analytically, the former by *a(f)*, the latter by *sōtp*.

2. The second trend is an *increase of instances in which the verb is immediately followed by its direct object* (see Shifts 1, 2, and 3, with an interesting variation in Shift 4) *or another element depending from it* (see Shift 5). In other words, as time passes, these two elements more and more often immediately follow one another.

3. The third trend is an *increase of the sequence direct object—indirect object, as against indirect object—direct object, when the indirect object is a personal pronoun in the form of the suffix pronoun following the preposition n-*.

Trends 2 and 3 are complementary in that instances of reversal of direct and indirect object bring a direct object closer to the verb. The combined effect of these two trends is a gradual increase in the history of Egyptian of the sequence verb—direct object—indirect object.

4. The fourth trend, if one calls it that and not rather a force, is *analogy*, the universal agent of language change. Analogy is probably the principal factor in language change.⁸ In a sense, analogy causes that which often happens to happen even more often.

The workings of analogy can be observed every day in the language of children. Children typically produce forms such as *drinked* and *maked* by analogy with *played* and *washed*. Analogical formations very often establish themselves permanently in the language. Thus, in earlier English, the form *worked* came into existence by analogy alongside *wrought*.

On Metaphorical Language

In what follows, I will use terms such as "cause," "effect," "force," "attraction," and "cohesion" to describe historical processes of language change, and I would like to defend this use. Since the emergence of quantum theory, physicists no longer always seem to know what is where at what time and why. Bertrand Russell therefore rightly considered

⁷ It is studied, for example, by F. Hintze, "Die Haupttendenzen der ägyptischen Sprachentwicklung," *Zeitschrift für Phonetik und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft* 1 (1947): 85–108; idem, "Konversion und analytische Tendenz in der ägyptischen Sprachentwicklung," *ibid.* 4 (1950): 41–56; W. Schenkel, "Die Konversion, ein Epiphänomen der kemischen (ägyptisch-koptischen) Sprachgeschichte," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 21 (1966): 123–32; C. T. Hodge, "The Linguistic Cycle," *Language Sciences* 13 (1970): 1–17; idem,

"Egyptian and Survival," in J. and Th. Bynon, eds., *Hamito-Semitic* (The Hague, 1975), pp. 171–91.

⁸ On the immense role of analogy in linguistic change, see F. de Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale* (Lausanne and Paris, 1916), pp. 221–37. In *Near Eastern Studies*, J. Huehnergard, for instance, refers to T. Lambdin's "constant reference to, and use of, analogy as the principal agent of morphological change" ("Three Notes on Akkadian Morphology," in *Working With No Data*, pp. 181–93, at p. 181).

the concepts of cause and effect “fundamentally erroneous.”⁹ Why use concepts such as cause and effect if they no longer seem acceptable in the sciences and philosophy? The physicist and philosopher Max Planck defends cause and effect as metaphors, as a convenient and even necessary way in which the mind thinks about reality.¹⁰ Simply put, no research would ever take place if human beings did not *instinctively* ask “Why?” I therefore feel justified in using a certain measure of metaphorical language.

The First Shift

A first effect of the law under discussion can be inferred from the following pair of examples. The first example is from the Pyramid Texts (ca. 2400 B.C.E.), which exhibit the oldest known Egyptian. The second example, found in Ramses II's Battle of Kadesh Inscriptions (ca. 1250 B.C.E.), is in a type of Late Egyptian. For this shift, as for the four others discussed below, only a single example, or pair of examples, will be quoted so as not to lose sight of the forest for the trees. But it should be stressed that the examples for the first three shifts are representative of an entire stage of Egyptian. The fourth and fifth shifts are not universal, but there are many examples besides the one that is quoted.

DIRECT OBJECT = PERSONAL PRONOUN

INDIRECT OBJECT = PERSONAL PRONOUN

OLD EGYPTIAN

rdy.n.f *n.k* *sn* ca. 2400 B.C.E.

He has given them to you. (PT 613a *Ttj*)¹¹

LATE EGYPTIAN

dyw *st* *n.k* *p³ R^c* ca. 1250 B.C.E.

Re (Pre) has given them to you. (Kadesh Poem §310)¹²

The feature that invites comparison here is the order of the direct object and the adverbial phrase begun by the preposition *n-*, “to.” This adverbial phrase is usually called, under the influence of Latin and Greek grammar, though somewhat improperly, the indirect object. A comparison of the two examples shows that the order of direct and indirect object, when both are personal pronouns, is inverted, from *n.k sn* in PT 613a to

⁹ *The Basic Writings of Bertrand Russell* (New York, 1961), p. 311 (from *The Analysis of Mind* [New York, 1921]).

¹⁰ See, for example, *Der Kausalbegriff in der Physik* (Leipzig, 1932).

¹¹ For the text, see K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums*, 3 vols. (Hildesheim, 1969; reprint of Leipzig, 1908, 1910, 1922). The example is translated here as an independent sentence. But because hieroglyphic writing conveys little of the morphological diversity and complexity that must have

characterized verbal formations such as *stp.f* and *stp.n.f*, it cannot be excluded that it is a subordinate clause. Single and double underlining in this chart and in the charts which follow serve to highlight contrastive word order.

¹² For the text, see C. Kuentz, *La Bataille de Qadach: Les textes (“Poème de Pentaour” et “Bulletin de Qadach”) et les bas-reliefs*, Mémoires publiés par les Membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire 55 (Cairo, 1928), p. 315; K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical*, vol. 2/2 (Oxford, 1970), p. 93, ll. 6–10.

st n.k in Kadesh §310.¹³ The shift took place in the transition from Middle Egyptian to Late Egyptian (ca. 1800–1500 B.C.E.).¹⁴

The evidence about change itself is lost. Simply put, we cannot see the order of the elements change before our eyes. All we have is the static and motionless beginning and end points of an evolution. The dynamism of change needs to be inferred hypothetically. This hypothesis needs to be derived from observing the *record of difference*, but it also needs to transcend it by describing a *sequence of events* relating to one another in cause and effect relationships.

Before reconstructing the causal sequence of events that led to the shift, it will be useful to recall the four large-scale historical trends noted above: (1) the decline of the suffix conjugation; (2) the increasingly close bond between verbal stem and direct object; (3) the increase of the word order direct object—indirect object; and (4) analogy.

It is suggested here that the following causal relationships between these four trends mainly brought about the first shift. Trend 1, the decline of the suffix conjugation, along with the rise of verb forms featuring the infinitive, led to, or was a necessary condition for, both Trend 2, the strengthening of the bond between the verbal stem and the direct object, and Trend 3, the increase of the word order direct object—indirect object. Trend 4, analogy, then caused Trends 2 and 3 to expand even further by causing that which often happens to happen even more often as the minority instances assimilated to the majority instances. This sequence of events may now be described in more detail.

As the suffix conjugation declined, according to Trend 1, verb forms featuring the infinitive simultaneously rose in number, as already noted. The infinitive already appears regularly in Middle Egyptian verb forms in conjunction with the prepositions *ḥr*, *r*, and *m*, as in *jw.f ḥr stp*, “he is choosing.” It is also found, though not in regular fashion, after the auxiliaries *jr(y)*, “do,” and *p3(w?)*, “do in the past.” But by Late Egyptian, it was also the basic component of the following new, common, verb forms:¹⁵ the sentence conjugations¹⁶ *bwpw.f stp*, “he has not chosen,”¹⁷ and *bn jw.f r stp*, “he will not choose”;¹⁸ the bipartite pattern *sw m nꜥjrt r stp*, “he is going to choose,” rare in Late Egyptian but common later in Coptic; the clause conjugations *jw.f ḥr (tm) stp*, “and he chose (did not choose),”¹⁹ *mtw.f (tm) stp*, “and he will (not) choose” (the “conjunctive”), and *ī.jr.t.f stp* and *š3-ī.jr.t.f stp*, “until he chooses”;²⁰ and the emphatic verb form *ī.jr.f stp*, “that he chose/chooses/will

¹³ A. Erman briefly refers to this reversal in a note in the section on word order of his Middle Egyptian grammar's fourth edition, but he does not propose an explanation: “In Late Egyptian, it then becomes common to place the [direct] object *šw*, *št* before *n* plus suffix pronoun” (*Ägyptische Grammatik* [Berlin, 1928], p. 257, §485, note).

¹⁴ On this transition in general, see B. Kroeber, “Die Neuägyptizismen vor der Amarnazeit: Studien zur Entwicklung der ägyptischen Sprache vom Mittleren zum Neuen Reich” (Ph.D. diss., Universität Tübingen, 1970).

¹⁵ The following list pertains to those texts that can confidently be assumed to reflect spoken Late Egyptian, as described in J. Černý and S. I. Groll, assisted by C. Eyre, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*, 3d ed., Studia Pohl: Series Maior 4 (Rome, 1984). The suffix conju-

gation appears more frequently in other types of Late Egyptian, but this is mainly due to Middle Egyptian influence; for a description of the verbal system of Late Egyptian in the broader sense, see J. Winand, *Études de néo-égyptien, 1. La morphologie verbale*, *Ægyptiaca Leodiensia* 2 (Liège, 1992).

¹⁶ Following common practice, I am using terms proposed by H. J. Polotsky in “The Coptic Conjugation System,” *Orientalia*, n.s., 29 (1960): 392–422 (reprinted in idem, *Collected Papers* [Jerusalem, 1971], pp. 238–68).

¹⁷ Middle Egyptian *n stp.f*.

¹⁸ Middle Egyptian *n stp(w).f* and *nn stp.f*.

¹⁹ One functional equivalent seems to be the Middle Egyptian “continuative” *stp.n.f*.

²⁰ Middle Egyptian *r stp.t.f*.

choose.”²¹ The suffix conjugation is much reduced in Late Egyptian. All that are left are past *stp.f*, future (“prospective”) *stp.f* (negation *bn stp.f*), past relative *i.stp.f*, and the suffix conjugation form in expressions such as *m-dr stp.f*, “since he chose,” *m-ht stp.f*, “after he chose,” and *r-tnw stp.f*, “whenever he chooses.”

As verb forms containing the infinitive increased in number while suffix conjugations declined (see Trend 1), two things happened.

First, instances exhibiting the word order direct object—indirect object when both direct and indirect object are personal pronouns also multiplied (see Trend 3). The reason is that when a personal pronoun as direct object follows a verb form containing the infinitive, the direct object is attached immediately to the infinitive, as in *h^c pw jr.n.f r wšd.f*, “he rose to address him” (Papyrus Westcar²² 7,14).²³ This means that a personal pronoun as indirect object, consisting of *n*, “to, for” plus suffix pronoun, cannot precede the direct object as it would precede the dependent pronoun as direct object in the Middle Egyptian suffix conjugation. The indirect object has to follow, as in Late Egyptian *t3 mdt ntt jw.j r dd.s n.k*, “the thing that I will tell you” (Papyrus Vandier 5,6).²⁴

Second, with the decline of the suffix conjugation and the rise of verb forms with infinitive, the actor intervened less and less often between the verbal stem and the direct object. In the suffix conjugation, the actor stands between the verb or verbal stem and the direct object in all instances except when the direct or indirect objects are personal pronouns and the actor is not. Consequently, as the suffix conjugation dwindled, the verbal stem and the direct object were drawn more closely to one another (see Trend 2).

It is at this point that analogy (see Trend 4) took effect by causing that which often happens to happen even more often. Thus, in the transition from Middle Egyptian to Late Egyptian, the word order direct object—indirect object, when both direct and indirect object are personal pronouns, first became *dominant*. Then, owing to analogy, it became the *exclusive* word order, as it was also adopted after the suffix conjugation by analogy with verb forms featuring the infinitive, as in *dyw st n.k p3 R^c* (Qadesh Poem §310).

At the same time, through analogy, the bond between verbal stem and direct object grew closer, though the two could still be separated from one another in the Late Egyptian and Demotic suffix conjugations.

Analogy was not only active after the infinitive but also after the participles. Compare Middle Egyptian *ntf dd n.f st*, “it is he who gives it to him” (Eloquent Peasant B1,116–17 = old B1,85–86),²⁵ with Late Egyptian *jn Nbt wd st n.k*, “it is the Golden One that has decreed her to you” (Papyrus Chester Beatty I verso G 2,5).²⁶

One exception to the rule noted earlier that personal pronouns following infinitives as direct objects are attached in the form of the *suffix* pronoun concerns the *dependent* pronoun *st*, “it,” which does follow the infinitive as direct object, as in *k3t.n.f dd n.k st*, “what he thought he would tell you” (Ptahhotep 267).²⁷ Here too, the law under consideration

²¹ Middle Egyptian *stp.n.f* / *stp.f* (*jrr.f*) / *stp.f* (*jr(w).f*).

²² For the text, see A. M. Blackman and W. V. Davies, *The Story of King Kheops and the Magicians* (Reading, 1988).

²³ As first noted by H. O. Lange and A. Erman, “Die sogenannten Objektsuffixe,” *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 30 (1892): 12–15.

²⁴ For the text, see G. Posener, *Le Papyrus Vandier*, Bibliothèque générale 7 (Cairo, 1985).

²⁵ For the text, see R. B. Parkinson, *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* (Oxford, 1991).

²⁶ For the text, see A. H. Gardiner, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty* (London, 1931).

²⁷ For the text, see E. Dévaud, *Les Maximes de Ptahhotep: Texte* (Fribourg, Switzerland, 1916).

took effect in the transition from Middle to Late Egyptian, as is shown by *wn.jn hm.f hr rdyt st n.j r hmw*, "then his Majesty gave them to me as slaves" (*Urk.* IV 4,13).²⁸ The order *n.f st* in the New Kingdom example *nht.j pw jrt n.f st*, "it is my desire to do it for him" (*Urk.* IV 367,8) must reflect Middle Kingdom usage, as does the copula *pw* in the same example.

Remarkably, G. Lefebvre has used the principle of analogy to explain specifically the word order in the example Ptahhotep 267 (*n.k st*). It is the only instance in which, to my knowledge, analogy has been used to describe historical changes in the word order of enclitic words.²⁹ But when Lefebvre states that "[*n.k*] moves in front of *st*," he inverts the sequence of events by assuming that *st n.k* is the original word order. If one considers that the Instruction of Ptahhotep is Middle Egyptian and that *st* does not occur before the Middle Kingdom,³⁰ then it appears much safer to assume that the word order *n.k st* is original, that *st n.j* in *Urk.* IV 4,13 reflects a subsequent historical shift, and that *n.f st* in *Urk.* IV 367,8, a New Kingdom text, shows Middle Kingdom usage.

The Second Shift

A second manifestation of the law under discussion can be inferred from the following pair of examples. The first sentence is a passage from one of the Demotic Loeb papyri (ca. 300 B.C.E.). The second sentence is a quote from the New Testament in the Sahidic dialect of Coptic (ca. 400 C.E.).

DEMOTIC

dytn (twtn) dy *n.j* *n-jm .w* ca. 300 B.C.E.

You are giving them to me. (Papyrus Loeb 9,49)³¹

COPTIC (SAHIDIC DIALECT)

ti-ti *m mos* *nētn* ca. 400 C.E.

I am giving it to you. (John 14:27)

When one compares Demotic *n.j n-jm.w* with Coptic *m mos nētn*, it is difficult to see what else could have caused the reversal in word order other than circumstances similar to those already described in Shift 1. It was shown that the decline of the suffix conjugation had much to do with the reversal in Shift 1. The first major decline of the suffix conjugation is dated to the transition between Middle and Late Egyptian, and this is when Shift 1 happened. The second major decline of the suffix conjugation occurs in the transition from Demotic to Coptic, when the suffix conjugation in fact just about disappears from the Egyptian language. For example, the suffix conjugation form *stp.f*, "he chose," is replaced by *jr.f stp*, *afsōtp* in Coptic. It comes as no surprise, then, that Shift 2 happens precisely at the time of this second watershed in Trend 1, the demise of the suffix conjugation.

²⁸ For the text, see Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie, historisch-biographische Urkunden* (Leipzig, 1903–).

²⁹ *Grammaire de l'égyptien classique*, 2d ed., Bibliothèque d'étude 12 (Cairo, 1955), p. 203, §398 end.

³⁰ See, for example, Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*,

p. 77, §169.

³¹ For the text, see W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Papyri Loeb*, Papyri der Universität München (Munich, 1931), p. 31 and pl. 8.

It needs to be noted also that Shift 2 differs in scope from Shift 1 because of differences elsewhere in the systems of the respective stages of Egyptian. For example, Shift 2 pertains only to those verb forms to which the direct object is attached by means of the Demotic preposition *n-jm=* or its Coptic equivalent *mmo=* in accordance with the so-called Stern-Jernstedt Rule.³² No such attachment is known before Demotic.

One may also wonder why Shift 2 did not occur already in Demotic. One important consideration is that a phrase such as *n-jm.w* had earlier on, that is, in Demotic, not yet become thought of as a direct object but was still considered as an adverbial phrase with partitive meaning ("from them," or the like). It will be remembered that the *raison d'être* of attaching the direct object by means of *n-/n-jm=* appears to be that in the immediate present, in which the use of *n-/n-jm=* is mandatory, a verbal action applies only to *part* of the direct object. In Demotic, I can right now eat only part of, that is, *from*, a bagel. There is not enough time in the split second of the immediate present to eat it all, however fast I eat.³³

That Demotic *n-jm=* was still perceived as adverbial may have prevented it from becoming closely associated with the direct object construction. Such an association might have caused *n-jm=* to move forward and assimilate by analogy to what had by the time of Demotic become the regular word order when both direct and indirect object are personal pronouns as well as in other cases: direct object—indirect object (see Shift 1). But in Coptic the preposition *n-/mmo=* seems to have lost its adverbial character to a considerable extent, making it possible for analogy to take effect and the reversal in word order to occur. In other words, *n-/mmo=* became more of a marker of direct objects—a kind of *nota accusativi*, to use a time-honored term.

In fact, there are at least two clear indications that the adverbial character of *n-/mmo=* in Coptic had at least partly been lost. First, the attachment of the direct object by means of *n-/mmo=* was very often used in Coptic with tenses that are not immediate present, as with the past tense in *af-kō mmof hm pe-štēko*, "he put him in prison" (Matthew 14:3).³⁴ In all these many instances, *n-/mmo=* surely lost its original adverbial, partitive character and hence was reduced to a kind of marker of direct objects—then why not also when it followed a present tense?

Second, Coptic *n-/mmo=* is used much more rarely than its Demotic counterpart *n-/n-jm=* in adverbial phrases outside the direct object construction. This considerable drop in adverbial usages must have made the use of *mmo=* as marker of direct objects more prominent and therefore intensified the association between Coptic *mmo=* and the direct object constructions inherited from earlier Egyptian.

But a strong confirmation of the present hypothesis is as follows. If Coptic *mmo=* could come to precede a personal pronoun as indirect object when associated with direct object constructions, then it should *not* do so when still used strictly adverbially. This in fact

³² On this rule, see recently my "For the Sake of *ouōš* 'Love': An Exception to the Stern-Jernstedt Rule and Its History," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 79 (1993): 282–86; and "On a Late Egyptian and Demotic Idiom," *Revue d'Égyptologie* 45 (1994): 49–73, at 59–64.

³³ On the history of this problem, see "For the Sake of *ouōš* 'Love,'" p. 282 and "On a Late Egyptian and Demotic Idiom," p. 62.

³⁴ Absence and presence of *n-/mmo=* even appear in parallelism after such tenses. Polotsky does much to show that absence and presence of *n-/mmo=* may alternate for prosodic or rhythmic purposes, with presence, that is, the longer or heavier construction, coming first (*Grundlagen des koptischen Satzbaus: Zweite Hälfte*, American Studies in Papyrology 29 [Atlanta, 1990], pp. 188–90).

happens in *mpf-ti nau mmos*, "he did not give them (any) from it" (Nag Hammadi Codices III 18:16).³⁵ The element *mmos* is adverbial, as is clear from its equivalent *nhētf* in the parallel version *mpf-ti nau nhētf*, "he did not give them (any) from it" (Berlin Gnostic Papyrus 8502, 42,18).³⁶

The Third Shift

Shifts 1 and 2 illustrate that the law under discussion derived much of its impetus from the decline of the suffix conjugation. This decline reached its conclusion with the total disappearance of the suffix conjugation as a productive verbal formation in the transition from Demotic to Coptic (ca. 100–400 C.E.).³⁷ Only vestiges remain in Coptic. One would therefore not be surprised if the law's effect appeared to be the greatest at that time.

In fact, not only Shift 2, but also Shifts 3, 4, and 5 came about as effects of the same law in later Demotic or in the transition from Demotic to Coptic. These shifts therefore would appear to illustrate the considerable strength of the force unleashed by the relentless decline of the suffix conjugation. Shift 5 shows how the law could even wreak havoc in the linguistic system. One might say that when the suffix conjugation left the Egyptian language, it closed the door with a bang.

The third shift is again one of word order and can be inferred from comparing examples in the following set of data. The change occurred in the transition from Demotic to Coptic, at the time when the suffix conjugation disappeared from the language.

DIRECT OBJECT ≠ PERSONAL PRONOUN
INDIRECT OBJECT = PERSONAL PRONOUN

MIDDLE EGYPTIAN

hr rdyt *n.f* *ꜥ.f*

while giving him his hand (Papyrus Westcar 8,2)

LATE EGYPTIAN

nn jw.tw (r) dyt *n.f* *tꜣ jꜣwt*

He will not be given the office. (LES 48,9)³⁸

DEMOTIC

jw.j dyt *n.t* *hd 10*

I will give you (fem.) ten pieces of silver. (Setne Khaemwast I 5,4)³⁹

³⁵ For the text, see *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Codex III* (Leiden, 1976).

³⁶ For the text, see W. Till, *Die gnostischen Schriften des koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis 8502*, Texte und Untersuchungen 60 (Berlin, 1955); a revised edition of this work by H.-M. Schenke appeared in 1972.

³⁷ As for the importance of this event, Janet Johnson notes that "[t]he most noticeable change in the verbal system of Coptic from that of the earlier stages of Egyptian is that, in Coptic, verbal auxiliaries

were prefixed to the complex of subject plus lexical verb, while in earlier stages of Egyptian, in most forms, the lexical verb itself was conjugated, and the subject suffixed to it" (*The Demotic Verbal System*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, no. 38 [Chicago, 1976], p. 4, n. 14).

³⁸ Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 1 (Brussels, 1932).

³⁹ For the text, see F. Ll. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis* (Oxford, 1900).

COPTIC

*nneu-ti**maein**nas*

No sign shall be given to it. (Matthew 12:39)

*ai-je**nai**nētn*

I have said these things to you. (John 16:6)

This second set of examples illustrates the law's considerable strength in showing how, in the transition from Demotic to Coptic, noun phrases are "pulled" in front of the preposition *n-* plus suffix pronoun, in spite of the fact that the latter, as an enclitic element, is prosodically much weaker.⁴⁰ The present historical law therefore annuls the effect of Wackernagel's Law, which is synchronic, in this third shift.

How can this third shift too be interpreted as just another effect of the same law involving the demise of the suffix conjugation? Before answering this question, it should be noted first that it can be inferred from this set of data that in the Coptic examples the direct object must be *bound* prosodically to the preceding infinitive. Indeed, according to Wackernagel's Law, enclitic words appear as far forward as possible, "splitting up" word groups that are not prosodically bound. Since the word order is not **nneu-ti nas maein* and **ai-je nētn nai* in the examples above, the two elements in both *ti maein* and *je nai* must be bound to one another by sharing the same main stress accent. Such prosodic unity is confirmed by the fact that a special form of the infinitive, called the infinitive construct,⁴¹ often marked by a different vowel, is used in Coptic whenever direct objects other than personal pronouns immediately follow the infinitive. This also means that the infinitive did not quite have a special construct state in earlier stages of Egyptian as it had in Coptic, although grammars of the earlier stages of Egyptian seem to imply this.⁴² The question asked at the beginning of this paragraph may now be reformulated as follows.

How can the fact that word groups such as *ti maein* form a prosodic unit be related to the demise of the suffix conjugation? A first step towards an answer is that in the suffix conjugation, still frequent in Demotic, the direct object, when it is not a personal pronoun, is *always separated* from the verbal stem by some other element.⁴³ Examples are *jr.w hrw 3*, "they spent three days . . ." (Setne Khaemwast I 6,9), in which the suffix pronoun *w* separates *jr* from *hrw 3*. In the passage *t3y n3 hl w3b n3y.w hw3 r-bl hn n3 jt*, "the young priests pulled their sticks from the grain" (Papyrus Rylands IX 11,7),⁴⁴ it is the noun phrase *n3 hl w3b* that intervenes.

It follows that with the disappearance of the suffix conjugation at the end of Demotic there was a considerable increase of instances in which the direct object immediately followed the verbal stem, which in Coptic, as a rule, assumes the form of the infinitive. In

⁴⁰ But the word order remains indirect object—direct object in Coptic, as it is in Demotic, when *n-* heads the direct object, as in *af-ti nau n-teksousia*, "he gave them the authority" (Matthew 10:1).

⁴¹ The other two forms are the absolute form and, in front of suffix pronouns, the pronominal form.

⁴² The matter is somewhat difficult to judge because hieroglyphic writing does not express vowels.

⁴³ For evidence on word order in Demotic, see F. Lexa, *Grammaire démotique*, vol. 6 (Prague, 1948), pp. 942–47.

⁴⁴ For the text, see Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester* (Manchester and London, 1909).

fact, the bound sequence verbal stem—direct object now became the rule when (1) both or (2) neither of the direct and indirect objects were personal pronouns and when (3) the direct object was a personal pronoun and the indirect object was not, with the direct object being either expressed by the suffix pronoun or introduced by *mmo*=.⁴⁵ Only the fourth possible case, in which the indirect object was a personal pronoun and the direct object was not, might have been a standard exception to the rule. But as one can see from an example such as *ai-je nai nētn*, “I have said these things to you” (John 16:6) cited above, the bound sequence verbal stem—direct object also came to prevail in this case (4). It is suggested here that this happened mainly through analogy with the three other cases that were in the majority. In other words, the direct object so often followed the infinitive that it appeared to speakers of Egyptian as if it always should. The direct object “became stuck” to the infinitive, in a manner of speaking, also when it was not a personal pronoun. One final illustration of this remarkable third shift consists of two roughly contemporaneous passages from two magical texts, the first in Demotic from the Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden (2,22), the second in Coptic from the Paris Magical Papyrus (C 21).⁴⁶

ca. third century C.E.

mtw.k dd n.j w3h, and you will answer me.

ca. fourth century C.E.

nse-ji ouō nai, and they will answer me.

Another factor that may have played a subsidiary role is that the word order direct object—indirect object had also become more dominant elsewhere (see Shifts 1 and 2).

The Fourth Shift

The law at hand also allows a historical explanation for a relatively rare and peculiar phenomenon of Coptic grammar first observed by K. Sethe.⁴⁷ This phenomenon too illus-

⁴⁵ Excluded from this statement are instances in which (1) the indirect object is a personal pronoun, (2) the direct object is not, and (3) the direct object is attached by *n-/mmo*=. For an example, see n. 40 above. Such instances must originally have been more restricted in number and less likely to disturb the workings of analogy suggested here. They became more frequent in Coptic as the attachment by means of *n-/mmo*= expanded outside the present tense. The example in n. 40 also illustrates this expansion.

⁴⁶ For the text (P. Bibl. Nat. suppl. gr. 574), see K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Magicae Graecae*, vol. 1, rev. A. Henrichs (Stuttgart, 1973), pp. 66–77 at pp. 66–67. For the example, see earlier A. Erman, “Die ägyptischen Beschwörungen des großen Pariser Zauberpapyrus,” *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 21 (1883): 89–108, at 94 (l. 20); Griffith, “The Old Coptic Magical Texts of Paris,” *ibid.* 38 (1900): 85–93, at 89 (l. 20).

⁴⁷ “Das koptische Kausativ von *ti* ‘geben,’” *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissen-*

schaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse aus dem Jahre 1919 (Göttingen, 1919), pp. 139–44. The construction is discussed briefly by Polotsky (*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 52 [1957]: 233 = *Collected Papers*, p. 233) and in detail by S. Emmel (“Proclitic Forms of the Verb *ti* in Coptic,” in D. W. Young, ed., *Studies Presented to Hans Jakob Polotsky*, [East Gloucester, Mass., 1981], pp. 131–46).

An example unique in its kind and cited by Sethe is *f-na-ti-nak-se*, “he will give them to you,” in Sirach 20:15c (Emmel, “Proclitic Forms,” p. 134, example 25). The pronoun *se* is an isolated survival in Coptic of the earlier Egyptian dependent pronoun *st*. At first sight, one is startled, as Sethe was (“Das koptische Kausativ von *ti* ‘geben,’” pp. 141–42), to encounter here the word order of Old and Middle Egyptian (*n.f st*), rather than that of Late Egyptian and Demotic (*st n.f*), as appears from the first set of data discussed above. How could Coptic suddenly exhibit a word order that had become obsolete many centuries earlier? Sethe cites with approval Spiegelberg’s suggestion that

trates the strength of the force under discussion at the crucial juncture of the transition from Demotic to Coptic. An example is *nneu-ti nas maein*, "no sign shall be given to it" (Luke 11:29).⁴⁸ When the direct object follows the pronominal indirect object, as *maein* does here, it ought to be introduced by *n-*. Two regular alternatives are offered by Coptic grammar. One is the regular construction mentioned in the discussion of Shift 3, namely, *nneu-ti maein nas*, which is indeed found in other manuscripts of the same text and which also occurs in Matthew 12:39 already cited above. The other, **nneu-ti nas n-oumaein*, would be an instance in which the connection of the direct object by means of *n-* is used outside the immediate present.

It is suggested here as an explanation for examples such as *nneu-ti nas maein* that, just as in instances such as *nneu-ti maein nas* discussed under Shift 3 above, the direct object *maein* came to be thought of as forming a prosodic unit with a single main stress accent together with the preceding infinitive *ti*. But what differentiates *nneu-ti nas maein* from *nneu-ti maein nas* in Shift 3 is that when *maein* was attracted by analogy to *ti*, the short enclitic indirect object *nas* "got caught" between *ti* and *maein*. Although this fourth shift is nothing but a fossil of Demotic word order in Coptic, it does constitute the effect of a historical process and thus qualifies as a shift.

If this explanation is correct, then the elements *ti nas maein* ought to form a prosodic unit all three together, that is, the two elements *ti maein* as a unit with *nas* "squeezed in the middle." That *nas* forms a unit with *ti* is covered by Wackernagel's Law. But that *maein* is also attached prosodically to what precedes is not standard fare in Coptic grammar. There are at least two indications that *maein* is bound, however. First, when the direct object is a personal pronoun, it is definitely attached in the form of the suffix pronoun, as *f* is in *ma-nai-f*, "give (*ma*) it (*f*) to me (*nai*)" (2 Samuel 20:21).⁴⁹ Second, there is an example in which the enclitic particle *gar* follows the three elements, as one would expect if they are a unit, namely, *mpou-ti-nef-kharis gar*, "for he was not given grace" (Sirach 37:21).⁵⁰

In other words, *nas* is not simply an enclitic element that positions itself between *ti* and *maein* according to Wackernagel's Law, as is normal in earlier Egyptian. *Nas* is not a free-moving enclitic element in this rare example and others like it: *maein* is itself stuck to *nas* and the three words together, *tinasmaein*, form a group in which all elements are attached to one another. Enclitic particles would follow the entire group. Here too, as in Shift 3, the effect of Wackernagel's Law is nullified.

The Fifth Shift

As opposed to the four other shifts discussed above, Shift 5 is rather unstable. But it sheds special light on the law under discussion because it shows how the law's force was so strong that it caused a split in the system. An element was torn asunder, as it were, and

parallelism with *nf-tok-se*, "and he will cause you to give them," in the same verse has led to the choice of the unique construction. The main point of Sethe's article is the identification of *to*, "cause to give," as the causative of *ti*, "give."

⁴⁸ See Emmel, "Proclitic Forms," p. 132, example 10.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 134, example 24; the same happens in the rare and most remarkable instances in which the verb *ti* has vanished, apparently because it is obvious which verb is meant, as in *ai-nek-f*, "I have (given) it to you" (ibid., p. 136).

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 139.

actually appears twice, that is, one time too many. The matter cannot be dealt with in nearly sufficient detail here. One example is as follows.⁵¹

jm r-ḥry dy.j dyt swr.k k[wk] dy.j dyt wnm.k kwk n bny

Come down and I will let you drink *kwk* and I will let you eat date-*kwk*
(Mythus 20,8–9).

As an equivalent of “I will let you drink,” *dy.j swr.k* would have sufficed. But instead the causative verb *dy* appears twice in the example, once in the suffix conjugation (*dy.j*) and once in the infinitive (*dyt*). It appears that this double occurrence of *dy* can also be attributed to the demise of the suffix conjugation, as follows.

Causative *dy* is, as a rule, immediately followed by a dependent verb form. When *dy* assumes a form of the suffix conjugation, the actor of *dy*, “cause, let,” intervenes between *dy* and the dependent verb form, which is itself a form of the suffix conjugation; so does, for example, *j* in **dy.j swr.k*, “and I will cause you to drink.” But with the rise of verb forms with infinitive and the decline of the suffix conjugation, *dy* would increasingly appear in the infinitive form *dyt* and be followed *immediately* by the verb form that depends from it. This must have created an ever stronger sense of attraction or cohesion between *dyt* and the dependent following verb. This force of cohesion, which can be attributed to the decline of the suffix conjugation, ultimately led to the creation of the large class of causative verbs in Coptic beginning with *t* and ending in *o*. This force of cohesion caused the writer of the example cited above to think of *dyt swr . . .* as a unit. This force of cohesion is one force. On the other hand, when *dy* needed to be used in a form of the suffix conjugation, the actor (*j*, “I”) needed to be inserted and *dy*, “cause,” separated from its dependent verb form. This force of separation is another force. In producing the above sentence, the writer’s linguistic competence appears to have yielded to both forces. What may happen when two people pull at both sides of a cloth happened to *dy*. It was ripped apart, and the result was two pieces, a bizarre linguistic hybrid.

Conclusion

The decline of the suffix conjugation (Trend 1), together with analogy (Trend 4), led to an increase of the word order direct object—indirect object (Trend 3) and closer cohesion between verbal stem and direct object (Trend 2). This is why, in Late Egyptian, *st* precedes *n.k* in *dyw st n.k p³ R^c*, “Re (Pre) has given them to you” (Kadesh Poem §310), whereas its Middle Egyptian equivalent would follow (Shift 1). This is why, in Coptic, *mmos* pre-

⁵¹ Other examples are Papyrus Insinger 16,12; Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden 11,25–26 and 13,21; Mythus 16,12; Setne Khaemwast I 5,27. For the texts of Papyrus Insinger and Mythus (Papyrus Leiden I 384), see F. Lexa, *Papyrus Insinger: Les enseignements moraux d'un scribe égyptien du premier siècle après J.-C.* (Paris, 1926); Spiegelberg, *Der ägyptische Mythus vom Sonnenauge (Der Papyrus der Tierfabeln “Kufi”) nach dem Leidener demotischen Papyrus I 384* (Strasbourg, 1917).

On the grammatical phenomenon, which I hope to treat in more detail in a history of the Egyptian causative construction, see Johnson, *Demotic Verbal System*, pp. 64–65 (E71b), 272 (E471C) with n. 143, and 274 (E471D). In a review of this work, H. Quecke notes regarding Johnson’s examples E471C and 471D that “it seems as if causative *dj* has been duplicated” (*Orientalia*, n.s., 48 [1979]: 445).

cedes *nētn* in *tī-tī mmos nētn*, "I am giving it to you" (John 14:27), whereas its Demotic equivalent would follow (Shift 2). This is why, in Coptic, even *maein* precedes *nas* in *nneu-tī maein nas*, "no sign shall be given to it" (Matthew 12:39), whereas its equivalent would follow in earlier Egyptian (Shift 3).

The climax in the suffix conjugation's decline was its total loss as a productive verbal formation at the end of Demotic. This explains why the present law had its greatest momentum at that time, as illustrated by Shifts 2, 3, and 4, and the occasional instances of the contorted splitting of the causative element *dy* in Shift 5. Indeed, when the venerable suffix conjugation finally left Egyptian after several millennia, the grammarian listening closely might hear what Poe describes at the end of his short story "The Black Cat" as a "wailing shriek."

FROM THE ARCHIVE OF ANANIAH SON OF AZARIAH: A JEW FROM ELEPHANTINE*

BOULOS AYAD AYAD, *University of Colorado*

I. INTRODUCTION

MOST of the Aramaic papyri of the Brooklyn Museum (BM) collection relate to one Jewish family, the principal person being Anani (Ananiah) son of Azariah. His archive, which was discovered at Elephantine in southern Egypt and acquired later by Charles E. Wilbour in 1893, contains eleven documents. In this article, I will describe the contents of the archive of Ananiah son of Azariah starting with the papyri: Brooklyn Museum No. 9 (465 B.C.), No. 10 (462 B.C.), No. 11 (461 B.C.), and No. 12 (461 B.C.), all written during the reign of Artaxerxes I (465–425 B.C.), followed by the contracts: Brooklyn Museum No. 1 (451 B.C.), No. 2 (449 B.C.), No. 3 (437 B.C.), No. 4 (434 B.C.), No. 5 (427 B.C.), No. 6 (420 B.C.), No. 7 (420 B.C.), and No. 8 (416 B.C.).

II. ANANIAH SON OF AZARIAH AND HIS FAMILY

The documents show that Ananiah was first married to Tamut (Tpmt), with whom he had a daughter whose name was Yehoyishma (Jehoishma). Then he and Tamut were separated or divorced; in BM No. 2, written in 449 B.C., however, we read that he married for a second time, or remarried, Tamut on a date corresponding to 13 July 449 B.C. Tamut was the hand-maiden of Meshullam son of Zakkur, and it appeared that she had a young son named Palti. In connection with Palti we read: "And I Meshullam, tomorrow or another day, will not be able to take away Palti from under thy [Ananiah's] heart except if thou dost drive out his mother Tamut."

It is clear from the document that Tamut had given birth to this boy before her marriage to Ananiah in 449 B.C., and, of course, she already had had her daughter Yehoyishma by this time. Earlier, in 465 B.C., Ananiah son of Azariah had written the document

* Emil J. Kraeling published *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri* in 1953. In it, he pointed out that several of the Aramaic papyri I discuss (nos. 9, 10, 11, and 12) were written during the reign of Artaxerxes II (405–402/401 B.C.), not Artaxerxes I. Kraeling's point

of view has been accepted by a large number of scholars in Semitic studies. In this paper, however, I deal with the history of the family of Ananiah son of Azariah, a Jew from Elephantine who lived during the rule of Darius I (552–486 B.C.), Xerxes I (486–465 B.C.), Artaxerxes I (465–425 B.C.), and Darius II (425–405 B.C.).

Kraeling understood the terms "below" and "above" as meaning "south" and "north," respectively. I disagree with his interpretation of these terms, however. Furthermore, new drawings of the floor plan are presented for the houses of Ananiah son of Azariah and the other houses in the Jewish district of Elephantine.

(BM No. 9) in which he gave his daughter Yehoyishma a part of a house because she cared for him when he became ill at the age of thirty-five: "I, Anani(ah), give it (a part of a house) to Yehoyishma my daughter at my death in affection because she did maintain me when I was old in days and was not able (to work) with my hands, and she did maintain me" (BM No. 9: 16–17).¹

Thus, it would appear that Ananiah was married for the first time at least fourteen or fifteen years before 465 B.C. His first marriage was probably in 480 B.C., and his daughter Yehoyishma was most likely born in 479 B.C. This conclusion is based on his age (thirty-five) in 465 B.C., the year in which he gave his daughter Yehoyishma part of a house (BM No. 9).

In 462 B.C., another part of a house was given to Yehoyishma by Ananiah son of Azariah (BM No. 10). Between these two dates, i.e., between 465 B.C. and 462 B.C., Ananiah son of Azariah seems not to have lived with his wife Tamut. Probably they were separated, and Tamut went to the house of her master (owner) Meshullam son of Zakkur (Zaccur); Ananiah son of Azariah remained in his own house. Nothing was given to his wife Tamut at this time.

In 461 B.C. (BM No. 12) Anani(ah) son of Azariah was about thirty-nine years old. He and his wife Tamut sold part of their house, which they had bought from Bagazusht son of Plyn (we do not know when Ananiah purchased this house from Bagazusht), to their son-in-law Anani(ah) son of Haggai son of Bss. This document was written sometime during the first marriage of Ananiah son of Haggai to their daughter Yehoyishma.

The description of the boundaries of this house reads:

East of it thy house, O Anani b. Haggai, which we gave to Yehoyishma our daughter as remainder portion (?) on the document of her marriage, adjoins it wall to wall. On the west of it is the temple of Yahu and the street of the king is between them. Above it (south) is the house of Parnu b. Zili and Mardu, his brother, adjoins it wall to wall. Below it (north) is the house of Pehi and Pemet, his brother, boatmen of the waters, sons of Tawi, and the street of the king is between them. (BM No. 12: 17–21) (trans. Kraeling)

This house was not the same as the house discussed in BM No. 3 below because the boundaries appear to be different.

BM No. 1, written in 451 B.C., tells about Anani(ah) son of Azariah, who received from Mika son of . . . the price of a certain property according to the order of the court.

One should remember that sometime after 461 B.C. and before 449 B.C. Ananiah son of Azariah and his wife Tamut were apparently separated and lived together only occasionally. Their son Palti was probably born in 455 B.C. In 454 B.C. they were divorced, and in 449 B.C. Ananiah son of Azariah, at the age of fifty-one, apparently remarried Tamut (BM No. 2).

In 437 B.C. (BM No. 3), Ananiah son of Azariah bought yet another house from Bagazusht son of Bzw and the woman Ubil daughter of Satibar. The boundaries are described as follows:

Above it (south) is the house of Satibar; below it (north) is the *tmy* (town) of Khnum the god, and the street of the king is between them; east of it the treasury of the king adjoins it; on the west of it is the Temple of Yahu the god, and the street of the king is between them. (trans. Kraeling)

¹ Kraeling's opinion (*Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*, p. 235): "The gift is to become entirely valid at Anani's [Ananiah's] death, and the reason for it is

stated: she is taking care (or going to take care?) of her father in his old age. Once more he repeats that this gift shall become valid at his death."

This is not the same house that was mentioned in BM No. 12 (461 B.C.) because the boundaries of the two houses appear to be different.

In 434 B.C. (BM No. 4), Ananiah son of Azariah gave his wife Tamut part of his house. The document also mentions that their two children, Palti and Yehoyishma, were to inherit Ananiah's portion of the house.

In 427 B.C. (BM No. 5), Meshullam son of Zakkur freed Tamut and her daughter Yehoyishma, writing: "I have released Yehoyishma by name, thy daughter whom thou didst bear to me."

In July 420 B.C. (BM No. 6), Anani(ah) son of Azariah turned eighty, at which time he granted his daughter Yehoyishma (whose mother, as we know, was Tamut) a house or part of a house.

Some years after 461 B.C., Ananiah son of Haggai and his wife Yehoyishma were divorced, but in October 420 B.C. (BM No. 7) Ananiah son of Haggai was married to Yehoyishma for the second time. At the time of the second marriage, Ananiah son of Haggai asked Zakkur son of Meshullam for Yehoyishma's hand and not her father Ananiah son of Azariah or her master Meshullam son of Zakkur because it is probable both her father and her master had already died. We know that Ananiah son of Azariah died late in 420 B.C. and that Meshullam son of Zakkur died between 427 and 420 B.C.

From all these documents, we can establish that Ananiah son of Azariah was born about 500 B.C. and married when he was approximately twenty years of age, in the year 480 B.C. He probably lived about eighty years. His wife Tamut was probably born in 494 B.C.

III. NEW GROUND PLANS FOR THE HOUSES OF ANANIAH SON OF AZARIAH IN THE JEWISH DISTRICT OF ELEPHANTINE

There are only two plans in existence for this area: one drawn by the German excavators² and the other by the Fathers of the Pontifical Biblical Institute of Rome.³ The other excavators, particularly the French, did not draw plans of their excavations.⁴ All the early excavators, however, failed to locate the Temple of the God Yahweh at the Island of Elephantine on their plans.⁵ The rest of this area has still not been fully excavated, specifically the portions thought by archaeologists to be the settlement of the Jewish-Aramaean community. Because the Jewish Temple of the God Yahweh has not yet been discovered and the area has not been fully excavated, we must look for other documentation for information about the temple and the houses bordering it. One such source is the Aramaic papyri. We can describe the area based on the description in the papyri beginning with the houses next to the temple.

² W. H. Honorth, Otto Rubensohn, and Friedrich Zucker, "Bericht über die Ausgrabungen auf Elephantine in den Jahren 1906–1908," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 46 (1909–10): 14, pl. 3.

³ A. Strazulli, P. Bovier-Lapierre, and S. Ronzevalle, "Rapport sur les fouilles à Eléphantine de l'Institut Biblique Pontifical en 1918," *Annales du Service*

des Antiquités de l'Égypte 18 (1919): 1–5.

⁴ E. G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri* (New Haven, 1953), p. 76.

⁵ Idem, "New Light on the Elephantine Colony," in G. Ernest Wright and David Noel Freedman, eds., *The Biblical Archaeologist Reader*, vol. 1 (Garden City, New York, 1961), pp. 134–35.

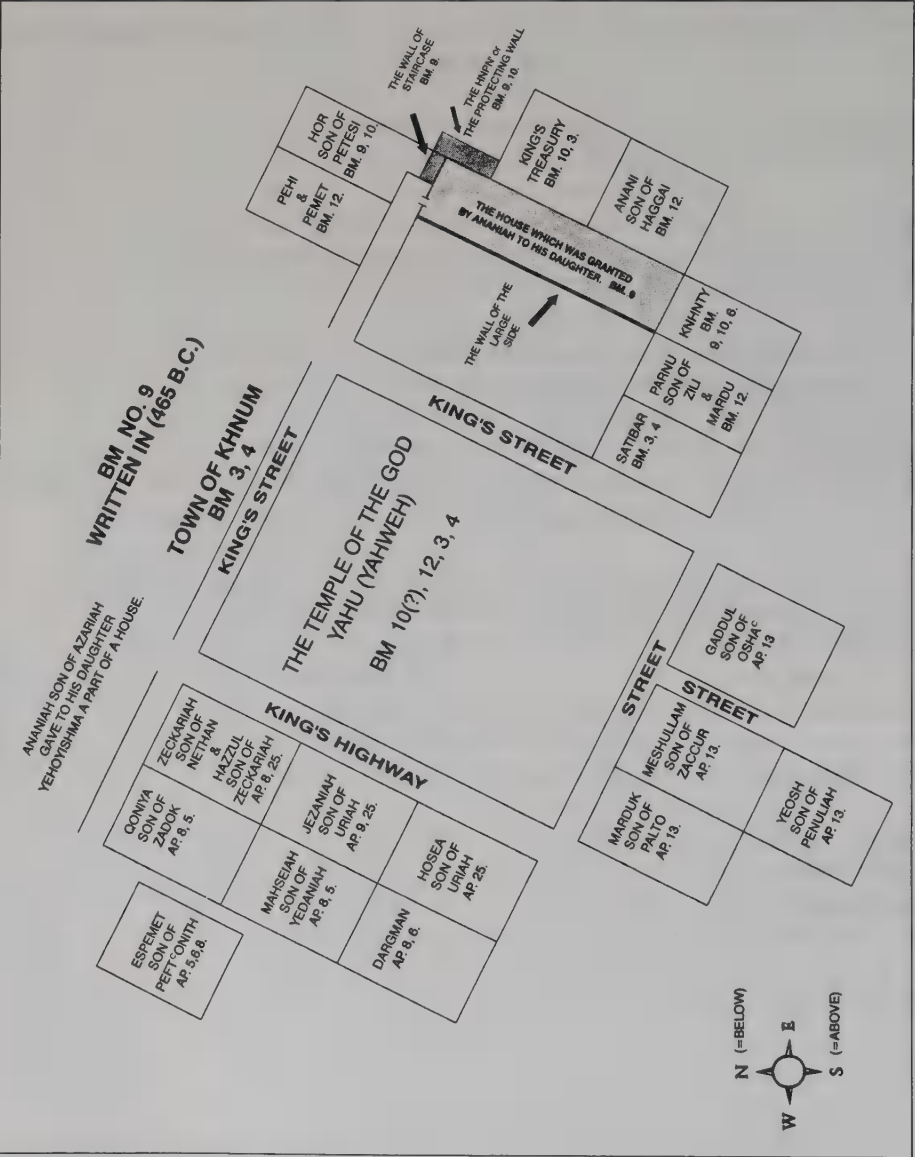


FIG. 1

The Western Side

On the western side of the temple, there is the house of Jezaniah son of Uriah. Its boundaries are described as follows:

At the upper end (south of it), the house of Hosea son of Uriah adjoins it; at the lower end (north) of it, the house of Hazzul son of Zechariah adjoins it; at the lower (north) end and above (south), there are open windows;⁶ on the east, the Temple of the God Yahu, and the highway of the king between them; on the west, the house of Mibtahiah daughter of Mahseiah.⁷ (see fig. 1) (trans. Cowley)

The document written by Mahseiah son of Jedaniah to his daughter Mibtahiah in 460 B.C. dealing with a house and plot of land contains the following information:

At the upper end (south of it), the house of Dargman son of Harshin adjoins it; at the lower end (north) of it, the house of Qoniya son of Zadok; east of it, the house of Jezaniah son of Uriah your husband and the house of Zechariah son of Nathan; west of it, the house of Espemet son of Peft'onith.⁸ (see fig. 1) (trans. Cowley)

The Southern Side

In one of the documents written in 447 B.C., the house of Meshullam son of Zaccur son of Atar, which was bought by Mahseiah son of Jedaniah who gave it to his daughter, is also described:

At the upper end (south) of it is the house of Yeosh son of Penuliah; at the lower end (north) of it is the Temple of the God Yahu; at the east of it is the house of Gaddul son of Osha^c, and the street between them; on the west of it is the land of [Marduk] son of Palto, priest of the gods Khnum and Sati.⁹ (see fig. 1) (trans. Cowley)

The Eastern Side

Another document (BM No. 9) mentions the boundaries of a part of a house granted by Ananiah son of Azariah to his daughter Yehoyishma, whose boundaries are as follows:

East of it, the wall of the *hnpn*⁷ (the "protecting" wall),¹⁰ which the Egyptians built; above (south of) it, the house of *Knhty* (shrine of the god)¹¹ or (the divine chapel);¹² below (north of) it is the wall of the staircase and the house of Hor son of Petesi, gardener of the god Khnum, adjoins that staircase. West of it, the wall of the two compartments.¹³ (see fig. 1) (trans. Kraeling)

⁶ Concerning the windows, see B. Couroyer, "Le temple de Yaho et l'orientation dans les papyrus araméens d'Eléphantine," *Revue biblique* 68 (1961): 537, and the discussion of Bezalel Porten in *Archives from Elephantine: The Life of an Ancient Jewish Military Colony* (Berkeley and London, 1968), pp. 309–10.

⁷ A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1923), no. 25:4–8.

⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 8:5–7.

⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 13:13–15.

¹⁰ Bezalel Porten and Jonas C. Greenfield, *Jews of*

Elephantine and Arameans of Syene: Aramaic Texts with Translation (Jerusalem, 1967), p. 58.

¹¹ Couroyer translates the name *Knhty* as *Knhty*, "shrine of the god." See Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*, p. 309, or "sanctuarie du dieu"; see the entire discussion in Couroyer "Le temple de Yaho . . .," pp. 532–35.

¹² Porten and Greenfield, *Jews of Elephantine*, p. 58.

¹³ Kraeling, *Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*, no. 9:8–11.

In still another document (BM No. 10), the boundaries of the house granted by Ananiah son of Azariah to his daughter Yehoyishma were defined in this manner:

East of it, the King's treasury adjoins wall to wall (up to?) the *hnpn*¹⁴ (the "protecting" wall)¹⁴ which the Egyptians built; west of it, thy gate to go forth, and the street of the king between them; above (south of) it, the house of *Knhnty* (shrine of the god or the divine chapel) adjoins it wall to wall, and the wall of his house adjoins it wall to wall, that is the two compartments (?) of mine; and below (north of) it, the house of Hor son of Petesi.¹⁵ (see fig. 2) (trans. Kraeling)

In a third document (BM No. 12), relating to the sale of a house concluded by Ananiah son of Azariah and his wife Tamut to Ananiah son of Haggai, the boundaries were described as follows:

East of it, the house of Ananiah son of Haggai; west of it, the Temple of Yahu and the street of the king is between them; above (south of) it, the house of Parnu son of Zili and Mardu; and below (north of) it, the house of Pehi and Pemet, his brother, boatmen of the waters, son of Tawi, and the street of the king is between them.¹⁶ (see fig. 3) (trans. Kraeling)

In a fourth document (BM No. 3), Ananiah son of Azariah bought a house from Bagazusht son of Bzw and the woman Ubil daughter of Satibar. Its boundaries are described as:

Above (south) it, the house of Satibar; below (north) it is the *tmy* (town) of Khnum the god, and the street of the king is between them; east of it, the treasury of the king adjoins it; on the west of it, the Temple of Yahu the God, and the street of the king is between them.¹⁷ (see fig. 4) (trans. Kraeling)

In a fifth document (BM No. 4), Ananiah son of Azariah gave his wife a part of a house, with the following boundaries:

Above it (east of it) the portion which belongs to me—myself, Ananiah—adjoins it; below it (west of it) is the Temple of Yahu the God, and the street of the king is between them; east of it (north of it) the town of Khnum the god, and the street of the king is between them; west of it (south of it) the house of Satibar, the "silverman," adjoins it.¹⁸ (see fig. 5) (trans. Kraeling)

The writer of the above document was Ma^cuziyah son of Nathan who changed the four directions of this document, the reason for which is not clear. The directions fit the plan of this house if we keep in mind the following alterations: Above = East, Below = West, East = North, West = South.

In a sixth document (BM No. 6), Ananiah son of Azariah gave his daughter Yehoyishma a part of a house; the boundaries are as follows:

Below it (west of it) is my house . . . the house of Ananiah son of Azariah . . . and the street between them; above it (east of it) the treasury of the king; west of it (south of it) is [the house of *Knhnty*]. East of it (north of it) the house of Hor, servant of *Khnum*, the god.¹⁹ (see fig. 6) (trans. Kraeling)

¹⁴ Porten and Greenfield, *Jews of Elephantine*, p. 63.

¹⁵ Kraeling, *Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*, no. 10:3–6.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 12:17–21.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 3:7–10; see also the discussion in Bezalel Porten and H. Z. Szubin, "Abandoned Property in Elephantine: A New Interpretation of Kraeling 3,"

JNES 41 (1982): 123–31.

¹⁸ Kraeling, *Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*, no. 4:9–11.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 6:5–8; see also Szubin and Porten, "A Life Estate of Usufruct: A New Interpretation of Kraeling 6," *BASOR* no. 269 (1988): 31.

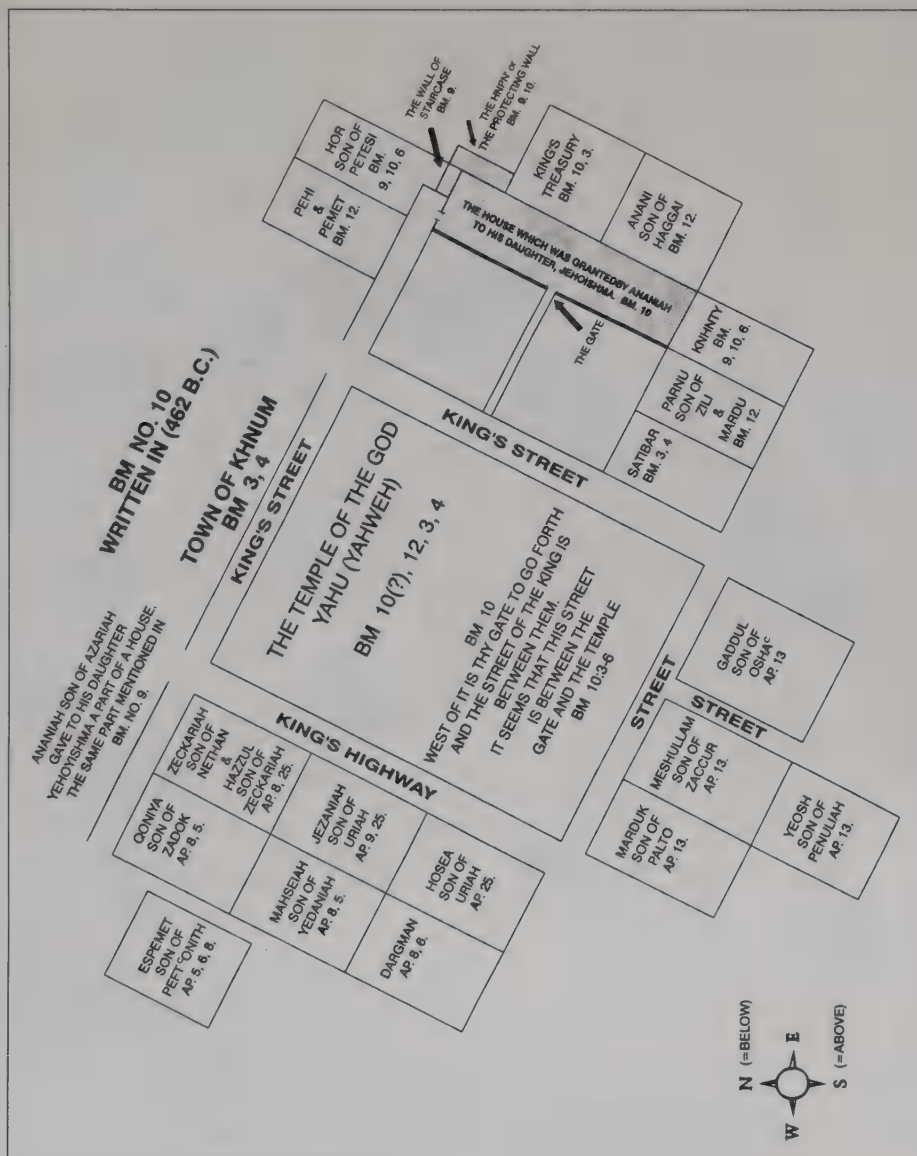


FIG. 2

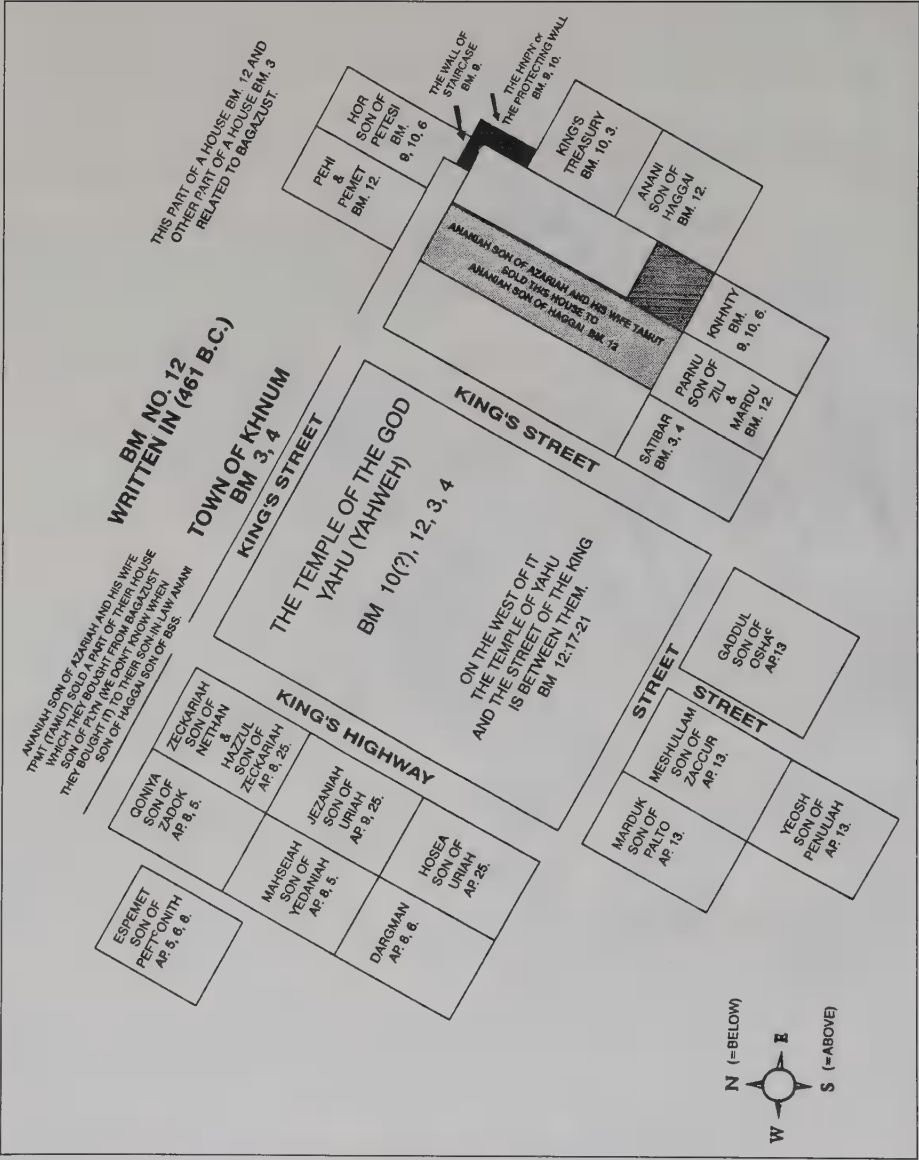


FIG. 3

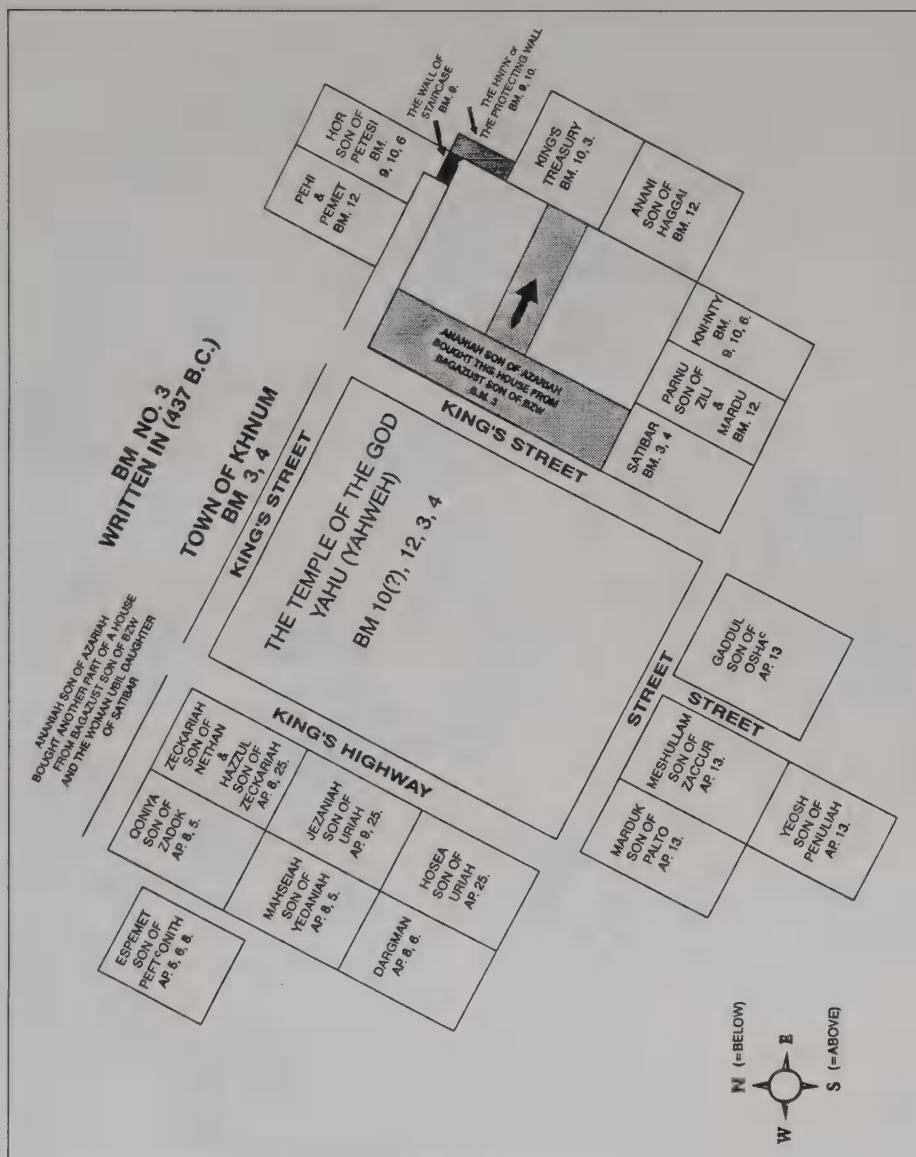


FIG. 4

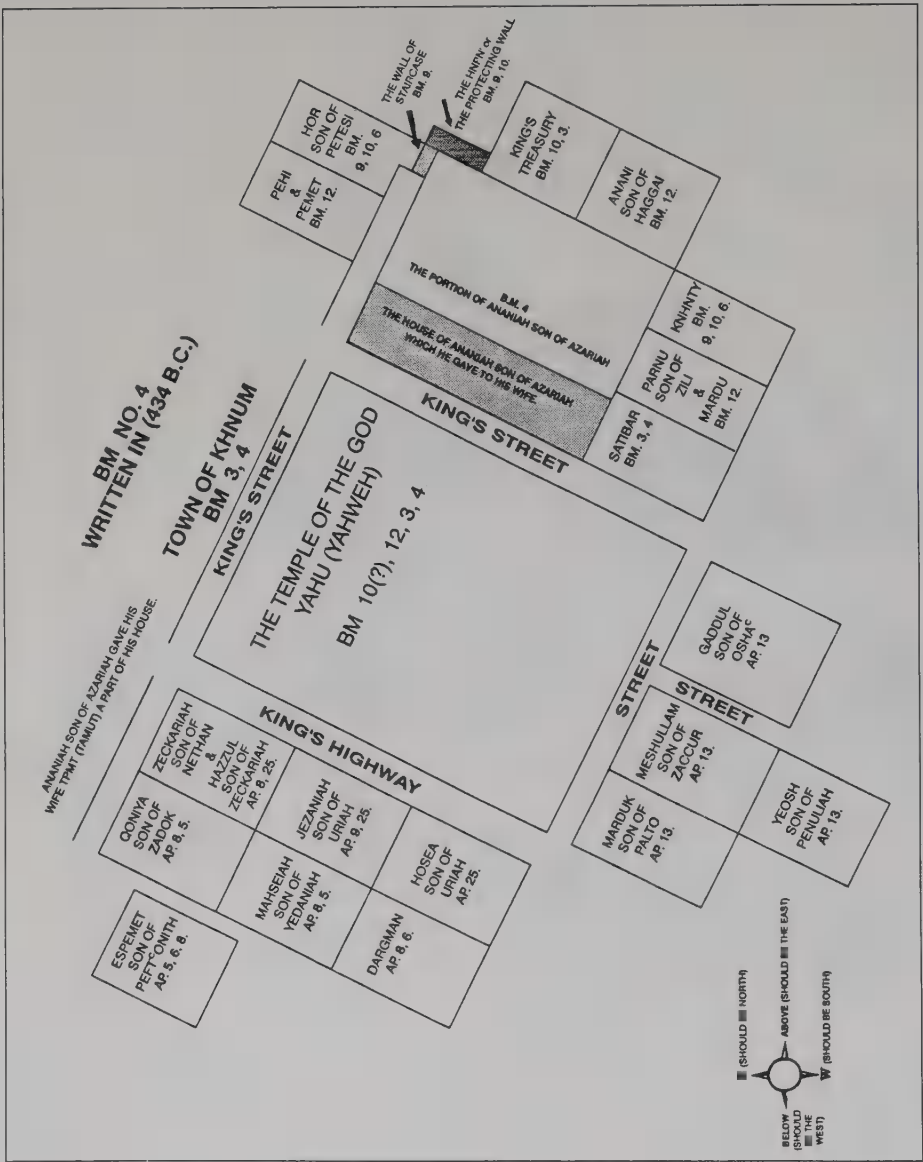


FIG. 5

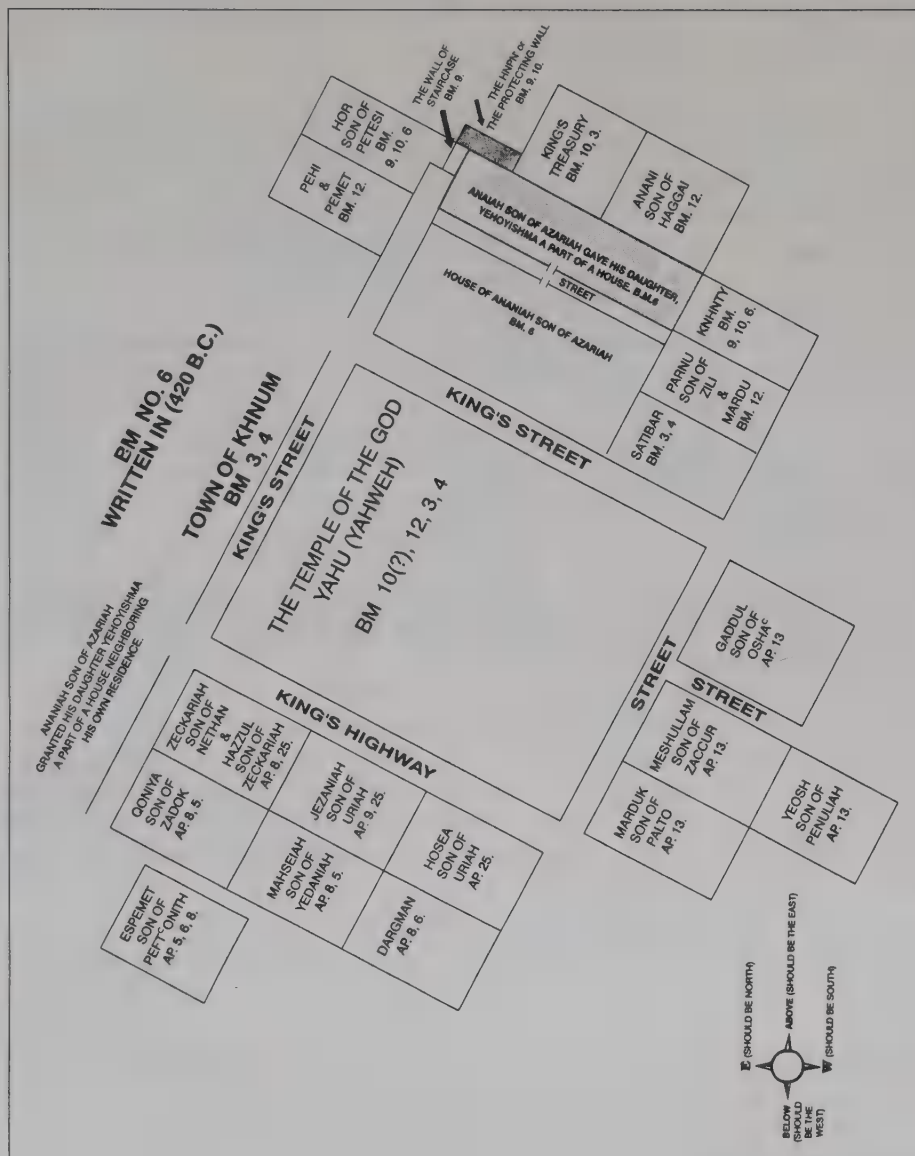


FIG. 6

The writer of this document, whose name was lost with a missing portion of the papyrus, probably was Ma^cuziyah son of Nathan, the same as the writer of BM No. 4. Thus we have the same problem as in BM No. 4 above: the directions are altered.

IV. CONCLUSION

We can tell from the above documents that Ananiah son of Azariah was living in the house described in BM No. 9 in 465 B.C., at the time he wrote the contract for his daughter Yehoyishma in which he granted her this house or part of this house after his death. We can now trace the transactions chronologically, which were described earlier in detail.

In 462 B.C. (BM No. 10), Ananiah son of Azariah gave to his daughter Yehoyishma a part of a house. Looking at the plan (fig. 2), the part referred to appears, with the exception of a few changes, to be part of the same house mentioned in BM No. 9.

In 461 B.C. (BM No. 12), Ananiah son of Azariah and his wife Tamut sold a part of their house, which they had purchased from Bagazusht son of Plyn (the date of purchase is unknown) to their son-in-law Ananiah (Anani) son of Haggai son of Bss.

In 437 B.C. (BM No. 3), Ananiah son of Azariah bought another part of a house from Bagazusht son of Bzw and the woman Ubil daughter of Satibar. In 434 B.C. (BM No. 4), Ananiah son of Azariah gave his wife Tamut a part of his house. According to BM No. 6, written in 420 B.C., Ananiah son of Azariah gave his daughter Yehoyishma part of a house next to his own house.

These plans indicate that even though there are a few small differences in the descriptions, the part of the house mentioned in BM Nos. 6, 9, and 10 belongs to the same house.

The two houses mentioned in BM Nos. 3 and 12 are connected with Bagazusht. Ananiah and Tamut bought the first house (mentioned in BM No. 12) from Bagazusht and sold it to Anani son of Haggai, their son-in-law. The other house was bought in 437 B.C. (BM No. 3), and a part of this house was given to Tamut in 434 B.C. (BM No. 4).

It is probable that the houses owned by Ananiah son of Azariah were in one area and surrounded by a wall, as it might be expected that the scribe would describe neighboring houses in such an area (see fig. 7). This pattern can be established based on the following information:

On the western side of the house were the King's Street and Yahu Temple; on the eastern side, the King's Treasury; on the southern side was Satibar's house; and on the northern side were King's Street and Khnun Town.²⁰ This is the same house bought by Ananiah son of Azariah from Ubil and Bagazusht, part of which was given to his wife Tamut.²¹

In one of the documents (BM No. 10),²² it was stated that the house of Ananiah son of Azariah was surrounded to the north (below) by the house of Hor son of Petesi, and to the south (above) by the house of *Knhty* (shrine of the god or the divine chapel), to the west by the street of the king, and to the east by the king's treasury. These were the same borders mentioned for the house of Ananiah son of Azariah in BM Nos. 3 and 4.

²⁰ Kraeling, *Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*, no. 3.

²¹ *Ibid.*, no. 4.

²² *Ibid.*, no. 10:3-6.

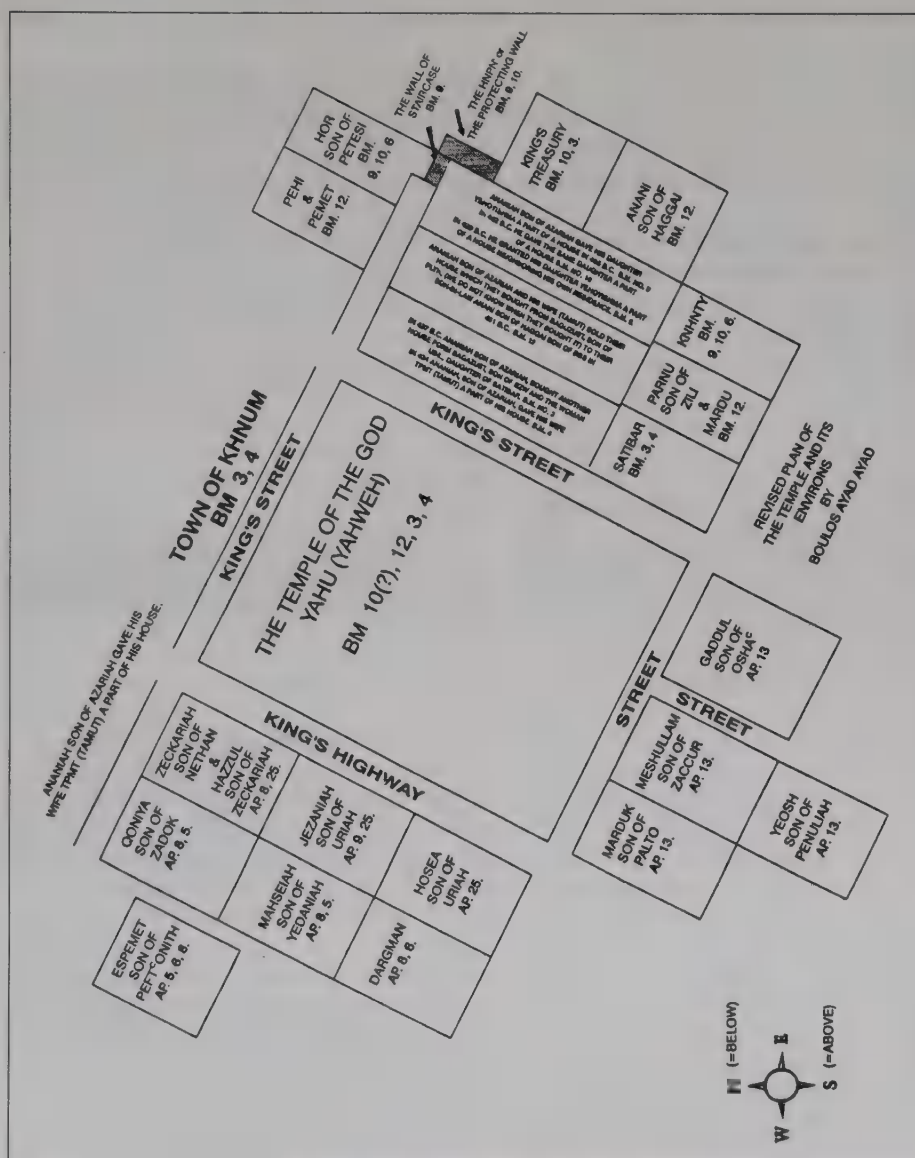


FIG. 7

In the ninth document of the Brooklyn Museum series (BM No. 9),²³ other houses were mentioned as surrounding the house of Ananiah son of Azariah, for example, the house of Hor son of Petesi and the *Knhnty* (shrine of the god or the divine chapel). It seems that the writer of the document neglected to mention the treasury, probably because he was satisfied with the wall of the *hnpn*² (the “protecting” wall); he also mentioned that to its west there was the wall of the two compartments.

Although most of the text of the sixth document of the papyri (BM No. 6)²⁴ has been lost, it is nevertheless apparent that the houses surrounding that of Ananiah son of Azariah are the same ones mentioned in BM Nos. 9 and 10. This house was, in fact, surrounded by the house of Hor, the *Knhnty* (shrine of the god or the divine chapel), and the king's treasury.

In the final document I have examined (BM No. 12),²⁵ mention is made of the King's Street and Yahu Temple as bordering the house of Ananiah son of Azariah on the western side; these boundaries are also given in the third and tenth documents of the above series (BM Nos. 3 and 10).

As discussed above, in this document as well, we can assume that “above” refers to the south and “below” refers to the north.²⁶

²³ Ibid., no. 9:8–11.

²⁴ Ibid., no. 6; the translation of Kraeling, *Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*, no. 6:7, is more accurate than the translation of Porten and Greenfield. See Porten and Greenfield, *Jews of Elephantine*, p. 48; see also Szubin and Porten, “A Life Estate of Usufruct,” p. 31.

²⁵ Kraeling, *Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*, no. 12.

²⁶ See my article, “The Topography of Elephantine according to the Aramaic Papyri,” in Sami A. Hanna, ed., *Medieval and Middle Eastern Studies in Honor of Professor Aziz Suryal Atiya* (Leiden, 1972), pp. 23–37.

The Political Aspects of Islamic Philosophy: Essays in Honor of Muhsin S. Mahdi. Edited by CHARLES E. BUTTERWORTH. Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs, vol. 27. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992. Pp. vi + 406. \$14.95.

This collection of essays contains numerous new and valuable contributions to this important aspect of Islamic philosophy. Each of the major figures of Islamic political philosophy, al-Fārābī, Avicenna, Ibn Bājjah, Ibn Ṭufayl, and Averroes, is discussed in a separate essay which either examines a hitherto unexamined aspect of his political thought or corrects a generally accepted interpretation of it. Even more novel is this volume's attempt to extend the scope of the study of political philosophy beyond these philosophers by including studies of their predecessors al-Kindī and al-Rāzī and of two of their eastern counterparts, al-Suhrawardī and Quṭb al-Dīn, whose political teachings have until now been overlooked.

Charles E. Butterworth argues in his essay, "Al-Kindī and the Beginnings of Islamic Political Philosophy" (pp. 11–60), that the philosopher did not explicitly broach the political question because he ignored Aristotle's practical writings dealing with ethics and politics in favor of his theoretical writings, seeking to focus on the similarities between the divine science of prophets and human science of philosophers. Moreover, al-Kindī's approach to practical questions concentrated on the individual who copes by living in accordance with virtues of courage, self-knowledge, justice, and moderation and who resigns himself and adapts to the unalterable world. As Butterworth quite rightly points out, however, in so doing al-Kindī at least implicitly raised the larger political question with which his successors dealt.

According to Paul E. Walker, attempting to extract a political philosophy from al-Rāzī can be likened to performing a similar extraction from Plato based solely on the *Timaeus*, the work with which the controversial Islamic philosopher was most familiar. Walker also points out, when discussing "The Political Implications of al-Rāzī's Philosophy" (pp. 61–94), that, while al-Rāzī does not display much interest in political philosophy, this is not merely an oversight on the part of al-Rāzī. Rather, he was consciously non-political, believing that "the individual is the primary seat of justice" (p. 82). Furthermore, he considered that the nature of all humans is the same and refused to give prophets any special authority, access to knowledge, or role in forming societies that is not equally accessible to others with the requisite interest.

In her contribution, "The Theoretical and Practical Dimensions of Happiness as Portrayed in the Political Treatises of al-Fārābī" (pp. 95–151), Miriam Galston combs al-Fārābī's writings, examining his various characterizations of the nature of happiness as an exclusively theoretical activity, as an exclusively practical activity, and as an activity somehow comprised of both aspects. What Galston finds is that al-Fārābī expanded theoretical perfection to include practical philosophy, rejecting the narrower view which saw it as merely the possession of the theoretical science (p. 150). Therefore, though al-Fārābī at times gave indications to the contrary, he understood happiness to be the combination of philosophy and governance.

James W. Morris argues convincingly in "The Philosopher-Prophet in Avicenna's Political Philosophy" (pp. 152–98) that Avicenna made use of an elaborate rhetorical strategy which adapted philosophy to generally accepted theological doctrines of his day through his theory of prophecy. His distinction between religious beliefs and actions (which are efficacious for political pur-

* Permission to reprint a book review in this section may be obtained only from the author.

poses) and religious beliefs and symbols (which correspond to demonstrable philosophic truths), and his discussion of the intellective, imaginative, and miraculous aspects of prophecy were all part of this strategy which sought to establish "the philosophic sciences as the rightful guides and interpreters of the prophetic legacy in his own Islamic society" (p. 197).

Stephen Harvey, in his essay "The Place of the Philosopher in the City according to Ibn Bājjah" (pp. 199–233), sets out to review Ibn Bājjah's *Governance of the Solitary* with a special view to the disharmony between the philosopher's worldly pursuits and his unworldly teachings. Harvey notes that *Governance* is hardly a work on political philosophy (p. 206). Rather, it addresses itself to the philosopher who devotes himself to intellectual happiness alone because political happiness is not possible in his age.

Hillel Fradkin examines "The Political Thought of Ibn Ṭufayl" (pp. 234–61) expressed in *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*. Fradkin highlights the notable depreciation of politics, which he argues is the result of the general subordination of philosophy by Ibn Ṭufayl to the mystical experience. Then, by closely examining the two different versions of Ḥayy's origins, Fradkin comes to the remarkable conclusion that for Ibn Ṭufayl "political life is not peripheral to serious reflection about the mystical way of life but crucial to its proper understanding" (p. 258).

Michael Blaustein's "The Scope and Methods of Rhetoric in Averroes's *Middle Commentary on Aristotle's Rhetoric*" (pp. 262–303) demonstrates the expanded role given to rhetoric by Averroes. Whereas Aristotle confined the use of rhetoric to practical subjects, the Spanish philosopher did away with contrast between the subject matters of dialectic and rhetoric (though he did maintain a distinction in form or rigor). Furthermore, Averroes also allowed the rhetorician to appeal to the passions and to utilize sophistic deceptions. Blaustein proposes that this reorientation of Aristotle by Averroes resulted from the "relatively greater public importance of theoretical controversy in the Islamic community" (p. 302).

The final two essays, like the first two, break new ground by examining the overlooked political teachings of two philosophers. Hossein Ziai's

essay "The Source and Nature of Authority: A Study of al-Suhrawardī's Illuminationist Political Doctrine" (pp. 304–44) demonstrates that al-Suhrawardī was in basic agreement with the other Islamic philosophers' characterization of the ruler. He also added a uniquely illuminationist twist, however: the wisdom gained through illuminationist philosophy and practice is the source of the political authority for the sage-philosopher-ruler, who must be able to perform miraculous acts as signs of his authority. Ziai further asserts that Saladin's order to execute al-Suhrawardī after the philosopher had begun to influence the ruler's son in Aleppo was a direct consequence of the practical implications of his teachings.

The effects of living in the post-Mongol Islamic world are clearly evident in "The Political Thought of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shirāzī" (pp. 345–78) according to John Walbridge. Quṭb al-Dīn accepted and supported absolute monarchy, and he did not see the state as a necessary basis for the virtuous life. Although he drew on al-Fārābī, the "Mirror of Princes" genre, and Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, Quṭb al-Dīn reduced kingship to simple political power and political teaching to supplying the ruler with ethical injunctions based on arguments of self-interest.

Clearly, this collection of well-written, well-documented essays is an important contribution to the study of the political aspects of Islamic philosophy. Even those essays which examine writers whose works do not specifically focus on this aspect of philosophy open new areas of inquiry. Each essay, at the very least, raises some new issue and is an excellent tribute to Muhsin S. Mahdi, one of the foremost experts in the field of Islamic political philosophy and in whose honor these essays are presented.¹

HERBERT BERG

University of Toronto

¹ This volume also contains a useful list of the writings of Muhsin Mahdi from 1957 to 1990.

A Popular Dictionary of Islam. By IAN RICHARD NETTON. Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: Humanities Press International, Inc., 1992. Pp. 279. \$17.50.

Netton has compiled brief definitions and descriptions for a fairly extensive list of the most pertinent and common terms and names in Islamic history, theology, law, philosophy, mysticism, and architecture.¹ The primarily Arabic, Persian, and Turkish (but also French, Spanish, Gujarati, and Urdu) terms are presented properly transliterated. In addition, most terms which have commonly used English equivalents are also listed, which then refer the reader to the correct Arabic terms. These two features will be of great benefit to the reader with little or no familiarity with the source languages. There are several other features of this dictionary which commend themselves: the entries are extensively cross-referenced; dates are given in both Islamic and Christian years; a separate entry is included for each *sūra* explaining its name, stating the number of its verses and the period in which it is said to be revealed, and providing a very brief summary of the *sūra*; and finally, at the end of the dictionary, a "Guide to Further Reading" is included which contains many of the standard reference books in Islamic studies and to which the author frequently directs the reader for further explanation.

The oversights of this book are relatively minor. Occasionally terms are used within the definition which the nonspecialist would not know, as when the Zand are mentioned in the entry for Shirāz. The greatest liability of the dictionary for one reader can also be its greatest asset for another. That is, it has a very traditional interpretation of the Qurʾān and of the significance (and historicity) of individuals and events, particularly those from the lifetime of Muḥammad. Very little of the recent academic research is reflected in the dictionary. For the reader who wants simply to know what the Islamic "orthodox" opinion, whether Shīʿī or Sunnī, is on a given subject, this dictionary is indeed an excellent source book. Thus, the scholar or student will find this book to be an extremely useful, easy to use reference tool to a subject with which he or she has only some familiarity. For the special-

ist or the scholar interested in delving somewhat deeper into a subject, however, this dictionary can serve merely as a point of departure.

HERBERT BERG

University of Toronto

¹ Apart from the occasional reference to the 1991 Gulf War, 1979 Iranian Revolution, and the Salman Rushdie controversy, the dictionary has few entries for recent figures and events. Some of the more obvious lacuna include the absence of any mention of the Black Muslim movement and Orientalism.

A Commentary on the Qurʾān. Vol. 1. *Surahs I–XXIV.* Vol. 2. *Surahs XXV–CXIV.* By RICHARD BELL. Edited by C. EDMUND BOSWORTH and M. E. J. RICHARDSON. Journal of Semitic Studies, Monograph 14. Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1991. Vol. 1, pp. xxii + 608; vol. 2, pp. 601. £60.

With the publication of this work the trilogy on the Qurʾān by Richard Bell (1876–1952) is now finally complete. 1937–39 saw the appearance of his renowned *The Qurʾān Translated*. This work was based on the positivist's faith in an ability to reconstruct the past exactly as it happened, in this case the life of Muhammad, and to collate that history with the Arabic literary artefact known as the Qurʾān. Then, in 1952, Bell published his *Introduction to the Qurʾān* which was subsequently revised by Montgomery Watt and deferentially published as *Bell's Introduction to the Qurʾān* (1970). Although the existence of the *Commentary* had been indicated in 1937 with the publication of the first volume of the translation, it was thought impractical to publish until now. It displays a massive amount of scholarship and affords valuable information about the various strands and threads of the text. Indeed, if one may continue the inherent fabric metaphor, Bell's greatest achievement was to unravel (dare I say deconstruct) the "original" and reweave it into something which, with what reads as serene confidence, he deemed to be "correct" even if he humbly allows from time to time that some things,

in the end, must remain a bit "unclear." The *Commentary* obviates some of the bulky obstacles thrown up in the face of the reader of his translation, which represents perhaps the ripest stage in the Western (non-Muslim) preoccupation (not to say obsession) with the chronological order of the Qurʾān's "composition." Bell believed that the entire text was *written* by Muhammad in three clearly datable periods: (1) an early "signs" period extending from the beginning of the Prophet's career in Mecca up to the later years in that town; (2) a Qurʾān period that represents the later part of Muhammad's experience in Mecca and the first two years of the Hijra; (3) the Book period, covering the remainder of the Prophet's life. So the translation appears in the puzzle form described in the following vaguely maddening sentence by the editors of the present work:

His *The Qurʾān Translated* endeavoured therefore to show schematically on the printed page, by the use of significant indentation, dotted lines separating passages, parallel columns, etc., in order to show [*sic*] which pieces of revelation had been substituted for others or written on the back of one fragment of writing material, whilst at the same time retaining the traditional order of what Bell nevertheless now regarded as highly-composite suras. [p. xv]

The *Commentary*, then, offers in clear detail the reasons for Bell's rearrangement of the matter within individual surahs. It is noteworthy that Bell's translation of the Qurʾān maintains the standard ʿUthmanic order of suras, though he recognized that this is a complicated problem and hoped that his work would contribute to its resolution.

The *Commentary* (and the translation) is based upon the hypothesis that "the present form of the Qurʾān rests upon a careful reproduction of a confusion of documents" so that in reconstructing an original, Bell considered

[a]ll the possibilities of confusion in written documents . . . corrections, interlinear additions, additions on the margin, deletions and substitutions, pieces cut off from a passage and wrongly placed, passages written on the backs of others and then read continuously, front and back following each other. (Trans. vol 1, p. vi).

Bell's translation has never captured the hearts of readers simply because it was not meant to be "read"—it was meant to be adduced. And if,

as we are told by the editors of the present work, Bell himself disliked the scholarship of Nöldeke and Schwally because of its obvious procrustean nature, after playing Bell's game of reconstruction, this seems to be a case of the pot calling the kettle black. But in the archaeology of the Western study of the Qurʾān, this work is an important site. Bell's *Commentary* reflects an avid interest in Islam by a Christian clergyman with an obviously sincere respect for his subject; thus the work is not polemical but rather "an honest effort to understand Mohammed and the Qurʾān" (Trans., vol. 1, p. xxi). The present generation of Qurʾān scholarship has, in most cases, abandoned the positivist's fascination with chronology to focus on other more controllable methods and questions to do with the inherent literary features of the Qurʾān.

While the editors are to be commended for making the effort to bring this find to the light of day, one wishes they had made a little more effort in proofreading: the first sentence of their introduction, for example, speaks of "the later Richard Bell" (p. vi). In reconstructing the history of the *Commentary* vis-à-vis that of the translation, the editors offer the following trenchant hypothesis: "Possibly he worked on the two projects simultaneously; it is unclear when he gave up work on the commentary, although this must obviously have been before his death . . ." p. xvi. Other distractions in the introduction exist, but more serious are those in the text of the *Commentary* itself. On p. 5: "The fact that they [*viz.*, the disconnected letters] come after the indicates [*sic*] that they belong to the surah and not to the editorial heading." Granted, no one able to understand what he was trying to say would be misled by the following entry on p. 6 *ad* Qurʾān 2:10: "ʾalsada, 'to cause corruption' and ʾalsaha, 'to set things right' refer to secular actions which affect the morale of the community." Such a gaff, however, will not inspire confidence about what the remaining 1,205 pages of this monument to philology contain.

TODD LAWSON

McGill University

Le voile du nom: Essai sur le nom propre arabe. By JACQUELINE SUBLET. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1991. Pp. 208. 168 francs.

The several components of the traditional Arabic name, which was widely imitated and adapted by non-Arab Muslims in Islam's medieval heyday, can provide detailed and systematic information on the individual and his milieu. Jacqueline Sublet of the CNRS, founder of the international database *Onomasticon Arabicum* and editor of the series *Cahiers onomastiques*, provides here a grounding in the structure and semantics of Arabic names, a sample of the methods and results of decipherment and some excursions into the ramifications of this particular system for onomastic theory in general. Her data are taken almost exclusively from biographical dictionaries of the Bahri Mamluk period.

The "veil" of the title (a figure of speech already used by Ibn al-Jawzī in an onomastic work of the sixth/twelfth century—p. 86) alludes to designations other than by *ism*, the given name, unalloyed reference to which may be subject to taboo or other social restrictions. Sublet provides definitions and rationales for the various sobriquets. These are the *kunya*, a reverse patronymic composed of *abū*, "father," or *umm*, "mother," followed by the name of an offspring, real or imaginary; the *laqab*, a term that embraces various types of honorific, the patronymic introduced by *ibn*, "son," or *bint*, "daughter," and names compounded with *-al-dīn*, "of the faith," or *-al-dawla*, "of the state"; and the *nisba*, or name of affiliation to kinship group, locality, patron, etc., formed by suffixation of the "relative -ī."

We learn *inter alia* that the *kunya*—an individual's real validation—was conferred on a free man at birth and on a slave at manumission and may consciously relate to the *ism* by alliteration, historical precedent, or other convention; that one might have more than one *laqab* and/or *nisba*, severally alluding to stages in or aspects of one's career. The form *Madanī* is distinguished from *Madīnī* (pp. 101–2); here it would have been germane to mention other morphologically differentiated *nisba* pairs, such as *Qurashī*—*Qurayshī* and *Bukhārī*—*Bukhārā'ī*. There are other tantalizing ellipses. Thus attention is drawn to the striking name *al-Jāhiz* (pp. 80–81), without trans-

lating it (popeye); a discursus on weapons with names does not mention 'Alī's famous bifurcated sword, *Dhū'l-Faqār* (p. 79). The explanation for the *laqab* al-Mutanabbī (misspelled "al-Mutan-nabī" and allegedly derived from the verb *tam-annaytu*) is at the least badly garbled (p. 109).

There are evidently permissible variations in the order of onomastic elements (cf. pp. 81–82, 121–22), a point not discussed. One wonders if, in the case of Mamluk titlature, preposing the sobriquets reflects the influence of Turkish noun-phrase word order, which is left-branching, as distinct from Arabic, which is right-branching; and, more generally, if it is justifiable to treat Arabic onomastics as a discrete "Arab" system in the multicultural empires of medieval Islam. Sublet brushes up against this multiculturalism in quoting from an Escorial MS of al-Maydānī's Arabic-Persian dictionary of nouns, *Al-Sāmī fi'l Asāmī* (pp. 185–86). The lexicographer's *kunya*, however, is not Abu'l-Faṭḥ but Abu'l-Faḍl, and he completed this work not in 494/1103 (which dates do not correspond; probably an original "7" of Sublet's was misread as a "4"), but in 497/1104. It remains to correct her footnoted "ouvrage inédit (?)" by mentioning two editions of *Al-Sāmī*: by M. M. Hindawī (Cairo, 1967) and a facsimile reproduction by the Iranian Cultural Foundation (Tehran, 1966: "Vol. I") supplemented by S. M. Dabir-Siyāqī (Tehran, 1975: "Vol. II"). There are few mechanical errors of consequence; in the transliteration table, the form *ât* for the feminine (singular) ending in *status constructus* should not, of course, have a circumflex (this error is not reflected in the text).

There is a wealth of information on the forms of names in the *isnād* (the chain of authority) and other devices of textual tradition, as also on the onomastic conventions of official correspondence and titlature. This is a useful complement to most studies of these quintessentials of Islamic history, which have focused on either the personalities named or the matter transmitted. Within its limitations, this book offers an accessible introduction to an important topic.

JOHN R. PERRY

The University of Chicago

The End of the Jihād State: The Reign of Hishām Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik and the Collapse of the Umayyads. By KHALID YAHYA BLANKINSHIP. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994. Pp. x + 367 + index + maps.

The collapse of the Umayyad state has been a problem of special significance to students of Islamic history even before Julius Wellhausen wrote his paradigm-setting analysis nearly a century ago. For the most part, historians have looked to the internal problems of the caliphate—revolts, dynastic squabbles, social change—for the ailments that weakened the Umayyad dynasty and paved the way for the ʿAbbāsīd revolution. In this book, Blankinship cogently suggests that we redirect our attention to the external problems with which the caliphate failed to cope as the ultimate sources for its internal problems and as the main force behind the collapse of the Umayyads.

Specifically, it is upon the caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 105–25/724–43) that Blankinship pins the blame. Under Hishām, the caliphate continued a policy of vigorous fighting on all frontiers, a policy that far exceeded the state's military and economic capacities. This resulted in a series of devastating and extremely costly military losses and the destruction and scattering of elite Syrian troops throughout the caliphate at precisely the time when the government needed them in Syria. It was this power vacuum in Syria that led to the events of the Third *Fitna* and the collapse of the dynasty rather than factional rivalry or pious opposition *per se*.

Despite their prominence in our sources, military matters are not considered to be the stuff of flashy theses and exciting narratives on which many of today's historians prefer to focus. Blankinship is thus to be praised for taking what many would see as dull reports of obscure provincial events, putting them together in the context of the military policy of the caliphate as a whole, and further fitting his interpretation of this policy into the problem of the fall of the Umayyads. Along the way, we learn a great deal about the various fronts of the far-flung caliphate, as in his sections on North Africa and tribal geography.

To obtain his information, Blankinship has read widely in a variety of non-Islamic literary traditions, adding weight to his conclusions.

Using such a wide breadth of sources, however, can often lead to a certain lack of depth. For example, the Eastern Christian sources are not so independent of the Islamic historical tradition as Blankinship states (p. 253). Moreover, he would have profited by consulting the letters of ʿAbd al-Hamīd b. Yaḥyā al-Kātib, edited by Iḥsān ʿAbbās, a source of particular importance to the reign of Hishām with regard to ideology as well as military matters. German scholarship on the early Arabic historiographical tradition has also been largely ignored in his discussion of sources and methodology, where the work of Albrecht Noth on the conquest-narratives would have been especially relevant.

It should be stressed that these few faults do not in general detract from the overall quality of the work. The book is a revised version of the author's 1988 University of Washington doctoral dissertation, and the emendations, while small, are often important. Blankinship's work is to date the only in-depth study of an Umayyad caliph in English. The author has collected a great deal of information and has synthesized it into a meaningful whole. By reinterpreting the military policy of Hishām, he has produced results that will be relevant to students and specialists alike.

PAUL M. COBB

Smith College

Women in Middle Eastern History: Shifting Boundaries in Sex and Gender. Edited by NIKKI R. KEDDIE and BETH BARON. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991. Pp. xii + 342. \$35.

Women in Middle Eastern History is a timely addition to the still meager yet growing literature on the history of women and gender relations in the Middle East. Scarcity of historical evidence on women as well as weaknesses of Middle East historiography in general have impeded the process of reconstructing women's past experiences. The present volume reflects the ongoing efforts to overcome these difficulties.

The volume consists of seventeen essays by historians and social scientists. In the introduction, Nikki Keddie provides a fine overview of

significant themes in the study of Middle Eastern Muslim women and discusses the controversies surrounding the role Islam has played in defining women's status and rights within the family and society. In the second essay, Deniz Kandiyoti attempts to differentiate among various systems of male dominance in the Muslim world by devising a useful conceptual tool which she calls "patriarchal bargains." She argues that Middle Eastern systems of male dominance are influenced by a fusion between Islam and "classical patriarchy." The remaining chapters are divided into four sections. Part 1, "The First Islamic Centuries," investigates the systems and processes through which Middle Eastern societies codified gender relations and boundaries, using the Qur^ʾān, the *ḥadīth*, and religious treatises. Part 2, "The Mamluk Period," focuses on certain aspects of the lives of urban Egyptian women, using sources such as religious prescriptive treatises, biographical dictionaries, and court records. The results question the stereotypical image of the docile and secluded Muslim woman by demonstrating how women of certain classes have actively pursued social, economic, and educational opportunities that were available to them. Part 3, "Modern Turkey and Iran," studies the interplay of religion, politics, and material conditions that have contracted or expanded women's spheres of action at various times. This section and the next benefit from the availability of diverse and relatively abundant sources of information such as archival and court records, census data, and personal accounts. Part 4, "The Modern Arab World," is the longest section, with chapters on Algeria, Nablus, and Egypt and deals mainly with women's efforts to empower themselves and gain control over their own lives.

A concern with Islam's impact on the status and position of Middle Eastern women is evident throughout the book. Leila Ahmed builds on the research done by legal scholars and attempts to demonstrate that in the early Islamic centuries different "supra-textual" readings of the Qur^ʾānic injunctions on women occurred. She argues that Orthodoxy chose the most androcentric interpretations, mainly due to the misogyny of the Umayyad and Abbasid periods. She advocates divergent interpretations more in line with Islam's "ethical egalitarianism" as a means

to improve women's status. Ahmed's reading, however, suffers from overinvesting Qur^ʾānic injunctions and religions as a system. Qur^ʾānic gender egalitarianism seems to pertain only to religious matters. In nonreligious spheres, Qur^ʾānic moral codes promote paternalism towards "weaker" elements of the community, including women and orphans. It seems that much more than an appeal to Islam's "ethical egalitarianism" is needed to change women's position in the Middle East fundamentally.

Some essays highlight the flexibility of individuals and communities in applying the dominant gender ideologies to their daily lives. For example, in his essay on the role of Ottoman women in textile manufacturing, Donald Quataert argues for "the absence of a uniform Middle Eastern or Islamic value system regarding the participation of women in the work force" (p. 170) and shows that, at least in some cases, "the rigid barriers that are presumed to have existed between the sexes and in the gender division of labor simply were not present" (p. 171). He suggests cautiously that decisions of households regarding gender roles have been a function of the relative commercial value of women's labor. Quataert's essay is also an example of how concentration on women and their activities can correct previous assumptions based on historical studies of men only. Quataert argues that the widely held belief in a nineteenth century "decline" of Ottoman manufacturing has been based on an exclusive attention to manufacturing output generated by the male-dominated organized guilds. Female production at home and at newly founded workshops, on the other hand, had actually risen, contributing to an overall expansion of "the domestic Ottoman market as well as the export market for select Ottoman manufactures" (p. 162).

Erika Friedl's anthropological essay on a rural-tribal village in Iran demonstrates the usefulness of theoretical models in analyzing the interaction between gender ideologies and material conditions. Friedl replaces the concepts of gender roles and private-public dichotomy with systems she calls "spheres of action" to make sense of otherwise confusing and inconsistent behaviors. As women shift among different action spheres with their different behavior codes,

Friedl informs us, they display different, at times opposing, characteristics: "The same woman who is moving freely far from home collecting edible thistles with other women . . . can be seen the next day covered from head to toe walking self-effacingly through the main street of the village . . . on her way to a field where, without her veil, she will pull weeds with the husband in his patch of lentils . . ." (p. 212).

Essays dealing with the more recent past have the advantage of access to sources of information that can yield a variety of useful data. Yet the limitations of these data must be kept in mind. Judith E. Tucker, for example, in her fine study of the institution of family in Nablus, draws on a sample of estates recorded in the Islamic court in Nablus to conclude that "[i]f female children were less welcome and useful than boys, they did not receive less food or less care, judging from mortality rates" (p. 246). But, as Tucker herself admits, the sample significantly overrepresents the better-off segments of the population for whom discrimination against their female children can hardly be expected to reflect itself in higher mortality rates.¹ It is likely that serious discrimination in the form of "less food and less care" occurs only among lower socioeconomic strata. Indeed, the available data for the contemporary Middle East show overall higher mortality rates for female vs. male infants, despite the former's higher natural resiliency.²

The stimulating essays of this collection raise many questions that should be dealt with in future comparative studies. Under what circumstances, for example, do ideological barriers to women's employment fall before economic incentives? (Why did the nineteenth-century Ottoman women of Quataert's study, with the sanction of local clergymen, join European-run workshops, while the Indian women in Kandi-

yoti's essay do not seek such opportunities and work at home for extremely low wages?) Or what conditions make women's participation in the workforce a source of empowerment as opposed to a justification for the imposition of further restrictions over them?

The collection as a whole extends and deepens our knowledge of the complexities of gender relations and of the possibilities and constraints in the lives of Middle Eastern Muslim women. The main contribution of this volume lies in its attempt to historicize gender and to articulate the changing nature of gender roles and relations in the Middle East. Its varied essays should make it necessary reading in courses on Middle East history. These essays demonstrate how newly historicized and inflected readings of traditional sources and the use of untapped materials can yield rewarding results. This collection is likely to stimulate more debate and become the basis for further works of substance. It can only be hoped that future research would also include religious minorities and pre-twentieth century rural and tribal women and attend to the present volume's spatial and temporal gaps.

NILOOFAR SHAMBAYATI

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Eternal Garden: Mysticism, History and Politics at a South Asian Sufi Center. By CARL W. ERNST. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992. Pp. 381.

Some books are incremental, contributing in a steady way to the fund of organized knowledge. Some books transform the way we look at a subject. Carl Ernst's *Eternal Garden* is of the latter sort, presenting us with a new picture of Sufism in medieval India. Ernst's breakthrough is made in two ways. First, he has through diligent fieldwork discovered medieval manuscripts at the Chishti shrine of Khuldabad, just north of Aurangabad in the Deccan, which were previously unknown to academic scholarship. They consist of oral comments (*mal'fuzat*) uttered by Sufi masters such as Burhan ad-Din Gharib, a disciple of Nizam ad-Din Awliya³. Second, he has carefully analyzed these sources in a way

¹ According to Tucker, only 37 percent of the sample estates involved "modest property." Surely, the share of population with "modest" or no possessions must have been far larger than this. Although in theory every estate involving minor heirs was required to be registered in the court, it is unlikely that the poorest segments of the population adhered to such formalities.

² See, for example, the data provided for Egypt, Pakistan, Iran, Syria, etc., in *Demographic Yearbook, 1985* (New York, 1987), pp. 469-87 and 984-96.

that allows him to test assertions made in later hagiographical sources, particularly of the eighteenth century, about the role of Sufis in provincial centers during the early Tughluq period (the fourteenth century C.E.).

The turbulent eighteenth century in India produced much encyclopedic writing by South Asian Muslims about their past. Ernst demonstrates that the images of the Khuldabad Chishtis presented in this later literature are often exaggerated and sometimes entirely unfounded. The late hagiographies paint Burhan ad-Din Gharib and his successors sometimes as missionaries to the Hindus and at other times as militant holy warriors. In the older manuscripts, Ernst finds no evidence that they played either role. The Sufis moved in the circle of Muslim notables and do not appear to have come into contact with many Hindus. Supported by admirers from the warrior and landholding strata, they pursued a peaceful life of study and meditation, taking part in no sanguinary holy wars at all.

The book is organized into five parts. Pt. 1 provides an overview of Sufism, problems in the historiography of Islam in India, religion-state relations in the Delhi Sultanate, the history of the early Chishti order (including the problem of inauthentic *malfuzat* or sayings attributed to Chishti figures), and the interpretation of Sufi prosopographical literature in India. Pt. 2 looks especially at Chishti Sufism once some of Nizam ad-Din's major disciples had relocated to the Deccan from Delhi, examining the teachings and institutional practices of Burhan al-Din Gharib, and treating the issue of Hindu conversion to Islam. Pt. 3 focuses on the social and political history of the Khuldabad Chishtis, the documents governing issues such as the distribution of daily rations, their relations with dynasties such as the Bahmani Sultans, and later the Mughals and Nizams, as well as dealing with the position of the Khuldabad shrine in local social context; it is here that Ernst briefly surveys the evidence for the role of Sufi women there. Pt. 4 consists of Ernst's conclusions, and pt. 5 of appendixes made up of shrine revenue and other documents.

Ernst argues that his newly discovered materials allow us to see the importance of Burhan al-Din Gharib and his tradition, which the Delhi-

based sources had downplayed. They show that the Sufis were moved to the Deccan by Muhammad b. Tughlaq as an administrative measure, not as part of a holy war, and they underscore the fundamentally nonreligious nature of the Delhi Sultanate (with its Turco-Mongol background). These early Sufi works also exhibit a strong grounding in classical Islamic learning, *pace* Muslim modernists who decry the medieval Sufi heritage as syncretic or a manifestation of mere folk Islam.

Ernst has written a highly readable book on an important but hitherto neglected subject. Since the Delhi Sultanate is not my own period, I cannot easily check this work for accuracy, and much of it is in any case based on unpublished manuscripts. The revisionist picture it presents of medieval Sufism in India is, however, persuasively argued and eminently plausible.

JUAN R. I. COLE

University of Michigan

L'égyptologue genevois Edouard Naville: Années d'études et premiers voyages en Egypte 1862–1870. By DENIS VAN BERCHEM. Geneva: Georg Editeur, 1989. Pp. xiv + 147.

This small volume dedicated to the early years of one of the major figures of Egyptology is divided into three chapters; the first concerns his years of study, the latter two his first and second journeys to Egypt respectively. A postscript with an overview of his contribution to scholarship and an appendix with letters from Lepsius, de Rougé, Maspero, Brugsch, along with two other documents including the contract between Naville and his dragoman conclude the study. Unfortunately, there is no index.

Naville (1844–1926) was one of the foremost Egyptologists of his day, with a massive bibliography ranging from mythological texts from the Ptolemaic period (Edfu temple) to editions of the Book of the Dead and royal tombs (Seti I). He was also one of the important early figures in the Egypt Exploration Fund (now Society), excavating in the Delta and in Upper Egypt, at Deir el-Bahari. This book is an important contribution to our understanding of Naville's formative

years. The author, Naville's grandson, covers only the early years leading up to his first publication because he felt that his life was divisible into distinct phases corresponding to his three foci of academic work: hieroglyphic texts, archaeology, and biblical studies (pp. 114–17). Naville's early career, which concentrated on hieroglyphic texts, particularly religious texts, demonstrates clearly the influence of his teacher Richard Lepsius (1820–84). Much of the book has been based on letters of Naville to his parents during his years of advanced study and his first trip to Egypt (p. xiii).

The bulk of the book is devoted to Naville's first trip to Egypt in 1868–69, ascending the Nile as far as Wadi Halfa.¹ The journey concluded with a trip to Suez to see the progress of the building of the canal. Naville's second journey to Egypt, the subject of chap. 3, followed closely on his first trip, when he was invited to join a number of European scholars on a special boat commissioned by the Khedive Ismail to bring European dignitaries to Egypt in the Autumn of 1869 for the opening of the Suez Canal.

Nineteenth century accounts of trips to Egypt are often valuable to the modern historian for providing information on the condition sites. Naville's descriptions of sites such as Giza and Saqqara, including his climb up the Great Pyramid with an English companion, although not intended to be a detailed account of the Nile valley, nevertheless give his letters the quality of a journal (p. 57). The description of Nubia is particularly valuable, if only briefly described, since it is now vanished. In the course of the trip up the Nile he met many notables, including Mariette and Brugsch as well as the Prince of Wales, the future Edward VII, and his bride on their way to Nubia. Besides Egyptological observations, Naville also notes in his letters modern agricultural conditions such as a steam machine which irrigated fields at "Redesieh" (El-Ridisiya, opposite Edfu on the east side of the Nile) so the Pasha could "accroître sa propre fortune et non point pour le bien de ses sujets" (p. 86). Much time was spent copying inscriptions at Edfu,

Esna, and at Thebes in the Valley of the Kings. His letters, in such cases, certainly form a valuable background to his first book published in 1870: *Textes relatifs au mythe d'Horus recueillis dans le temple d'Edfou*, a book which covered the same material as a study by Heinrich Brugsch published in 1870, although there is no indication here of the animosity between Naville and the "Berlin School" which would last for the duration of his life.² The young Swiss scholar already had a keen sense of mission when he wrote that copying texts would be important in light of Egypt's future: "j'aurai en ma possession des textes qui s'en vont tous les jours, et qui probablement dans quelques années n'auront pas résisté au vandalisme, soit des voyageurs, soit des fellahs" (p. 88).

The book is enjoyable to read and provides much valuable insight into Naville's career and the people whom he encountered. One is left wanting to know more, and perhaps a larger work on his career in its entirety, complete with a full bibliography, is needed. Since Naville's career was both long and distinguished and crossed national boundaries, it would be a large undertaking. This is not to diminish the accomplishment of van Berchem, who has produced an excellent study of Naville's early years.

J. G. MANNING

Stanford University

² For which see John A. Wilson, *Signs and Wonders upon Pharaoh: A History of American Egyptology* (Chicago, 1964), pp. 106–7.

¹ W. R. Dawson and Eric P. Uphill, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 2d ed. rev. (London, 1972), p. 213, state that the first journey took place in 1865.

Fontes Historiae Nubiorum: Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region between the Eighth Century BC and the Sixth Century AD. Vol. 1. From the Eighth to the Mid-Fifth Century BC. Edited by TORMOD EIDE, TOMAS HÄGG, RICHARD HOLTON PIERCE, and LÁSZLÓ TÖRÖK. Bergen: University of Bergen, Department of Classics, 1994. Pp. 343. N.Kr. 180.

History in Nubia must be drawn from Egyptian, Greek, and some Latin sources, in addition to the native Meroitic. This documentary

diaspora has been a major obstacle to writing balanced accounts of Nubia and Sudan. In the first of four parts of this series, the editors present documents relating to the first phase of the late Kushite Empire, from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty to the time of Herodotus.

Each document has a section which gives a brief description, with the physical location and description of scenes and labels where appropriate. Egyptian texts are given in transliteration and translation, with notes on geography, but sparing comments on philological issues. Greek texts are presented in Greek, followed by a translation. Some translations have special notes, and all have a section of commentary on the bibliography and general significance of the text. In addition, rulers have separate sections which sketch the course of the reign, relationships, and sometimes events, by year, with references, and there are some special topics. At the end is a plan of the forthcoming volumes.

The comprehensive nature of the effort and the obvious talent and diligence of the authors have delivered the historiography of Nubia a fundamental asset. It is now an essential reference for anyone doing research in Nubia.

BRUCE BEYER WILLIAMS

The University of Chicago

Egyptian Boats and Ships. By STEVE VINSON. Buckinghamshire: Shire, 1994. Pp. 56 + 36 figs. £3.95.

Egyptian Woodworking and Furniture. By GEOFFREY KILLEN. Buckinghamshire: Shire, 1994. Pp. 64 + 65 figs. £3.95.

These two slim books are the twentieth and twenty-first volumes, respectively, in the Shire Egyptology series, each of which is devoted to a particular feature of ancient Egyptian life and culture. Written for the layman, they dispense with footnotes and references. As is usual for the series, each volume is illustrated with many black and white illustrations, and each contains a basic chronology, map, glossary, list of museums which exhibit the relevant material, and a list of suggested readings in English.

Vinson, who has an M.A. in Nautical Archaeology, discusses ship construction chronologically from the Predynastic period into the Greco-Roman era, using representations, textual references, and models as his sources. A brief discussion of boats in religious literature concludes the work. The author occasionally compares Egyptian craft to those of Mesopotamia (pp. 16, 17) and of Greece (pp. 37, 41).

The author details construction, such as the persistence of the use of lashing to fasten planks, the near absence of keels and ribs in favor of frames, and developments in rigging such as the abandonment of the bipod mast in the Middle Kingdom. The discussion is not always crystal clear. For example, conflicting statements about the use of frames is given on pages 15, 18, 20, and 28–29.

Killen's volume is a distillation of his *Ancient Egyptian Furniture*, vol. 1 (Warminster, 1980). The present work makes use of many of the same diagrams and plans but dispenses with the detailed descriptions of individual pieces. The chapter on woodworking techniques and fittings is a particularly good quick reference with its many good illustrations of types of joins and tools. It is refreshing that Killen has taken most of his examples of furniture from objects recovered from private tombs, rather than using the so-often pictured examples from the tomb of Tutankhamun. The present volume serves as a brief, but good, overall history of technique and designs.

These two volumes, with their very moderate price and many illustrations, are good sources for the layman and a handy reference for the specialist.

EMILY TEETER

The University of Chicago

Amulets of Ancient Egypt. By CAROL ANDREWS. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992. Pp. 128 + 100 figs. \$17.95.

This volume by Carol Andrews of the Egyptian Department of the British Museum is a "comprehensive account of the types of amulets made, their symbolism and their protective powers,"

generally arranged according to Petrie's 1914 classification. The author presents an authoritative, clear, and concise discussion of the history, development, and use of all types of amulets, followed by a brief chapter on "materials and their symbolism." Although this book is aimed at the general audience for whom there is no recent and reliable reference, the book will also serve as a good source for specialists. A very valuable feature of the book is the author's summary of the *terminus a quo* for many types of amulets, with specific citation of the diagnostic examples.

The volume is fully illustrated, and each figure is keyed to the relevant discussion. The text is rounded out with a bibliography and an index of English and Egyptian terms.

EMILY TEETER

The University of Chicago

Near Eastern Studies Dedicated to H. I. H. Prince Takahito Mikasa on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday. Edited by MASAO MORI, HIDEO OGAWA, and MAMORU YOSHIKAWA. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991. Pp. xvi + 504.

Prince Takahito Mikasa has long been known for his enthusiastic fostering of ancient Near Eastern studies in Japan, for his active involvement in excavations in the Near East, and for his own scholarly contributions to Near Eastern studies. This volume includes contributions from thirty-four internationally known Near Eastern specialists. Space limitations preclude detailed comment or even listing all the contributions.

Adnan Bounni (Syria) gives a succinct summary of fifteen years of work at the site of Ras Ibn Hani on the coast of Syria. Muayad Said Damerji, Director General of Antiquities in Iraq, reports on a recently discovered treasure at Nimrud and provides several photos, some in color, of some of the extraordinary objects.

Horst Klengel's article "Hammurapi von Babylon: Neue Informationen aus dem Schriftzeugnis seiner Zeit" concentrates on information that is new since the time of the Japanese translation

of his well-known book on Hammurapi. A great many of his new sources are Mari letters published within the past few years.

Samuel Noah Kramer, who died while his article was in press, gives a new edition of the Sumerian text, "The Death of Ur-Nammu," and, despite some fragmentary lines and some uncertain passages, is able to give a good synopsis of the activity the poet describes.

Tahsin Özgüç, in his paper "The Newly Discovered Cult Objects from the Karum of Kanesh," publishes a number of pairs of animal shaped vessels, a pair of drinking cups in the shape of boots, and other vessels strictly in an Anatolian style which he interprets as having been used in cult ceremonies.

In her article "A Male Figure in the Style of the Uruk Period," Edith Porada publishes a metal (almost pure copper) figure in the Jonathan Rosen collection which, supposedly, had been in a Beirut collection for many years. In spite of its lack of provenance, Porada is inclined to believe it is ancient.

A little-known collection of Egyptian antiquities in the Bridgestone Museum of Art in Tokyo is the focus of an article by Madoka Suzuki of Hiroshima.

In "The Role of Aramaic in the Assyrian Empire," Hayim Tadmor gives a brief survey, based on both texts and monuments, of evidence for use of Aramaic. He suggests that the Reb-Shakeh was reading from an Aramaic scroll when he delivered his message to the besieged population of Jerusalem.

Surely one of the major contributions of this volume is Klaas Veenhof's paper "Private Summons and Arbitration among the Old Assyrian Traders," in which he investigates the complicated system of arbitrating and adjudicating disputes among the Assyrian traders. This was made especially difficult by the fact that not all disputants and witnesses were likely to be present at the same place at the same time. He investigates the specialized vocabulary of the various procedures, focusing on what happened before and up to the moment when a case was brought before the *kārum* authorities.

The volume comes to an end with Mamoru Yoshikawa's "Ergativity and Temporal Indica-

tion in Sumerian," a technical discussion in the ongoing investigation of Sumerian grammar.

This is a superb volume, well produced, which is a fitting tribute to H. I. H. Prince Takahito Mikasa.

ROBERT D. BIGGS

The University of Chicago

Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars. State Archives of Assyria, vol. 10. By SIMO PARPOLA. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1993. Pp. xxix + 421 + 40 figs.

Parpola in the preface explains that even though most of the Assyrian letters presented in this volume were previously edited in *LAS* 1 in 1970, with extensive commentary in *LAS* 2 in 1983, it was decided to repeat them in the format of the SAA series.¹ Some of the letters have gained in intelligibility with new joins and improved readings. In addition, in this edition, the Babylonian letters appropriate for this volume, previously unedited by him, are included.

Parpola, in his introduction, presents a succinct, but masterful, summary of his views on Mesopotamian scholarship and royal ideology. The scholars (*ummāni*, "masters") are divided into five categories, *tupšarru*, "astrologer, scribe"; *bārū*, "haruspex, diviner"; *āšipu*, "exorcist, magician"; *asû*, "physician"; and *kalû*, "lamentation chanter." Some individuals were experts in more than one of these specialties. Note 1 on p. xxxiv spells out in more detail the areas of activity of these five specialists.

Explaining the ideology of the king as earthly representative of divinity, Parpola states that it was essential that the king live up to the requirements of perfection inherent in this ideology; this included painstaking observance of divine commandments and cultic purity. But the king was recognized as human and therefore prone to error or sin against the will of the gods either intentionally or inadvertently. It was part of the

duty of the scholars to pay attention to divine warnings (in the form of omens, dreams, etc.) and to advise the king on the correct course of action (as indicated in their scholarly textbooks).

The texts are written in an idiomatic language surely understood precisely by the recipient. Because of the broken condition of many of the letters and our lack of knowledge of the particular situations being addressed, the translations are necessarily tentative in some cases.

Parpola has given short, pithy titles to all the letters where enough can be discerned to be sure of the topic of the letter. Examples are "Half My Kingdom to the Man Who Cures My Child," "Sabbath Injunctions," and "The Substitute King Should Go to His Fate."

The letters edited in this volume span the reigns of Esarhaddon and his son Assurbanipal. Almost all letters having to do with medical and exorcistic matters (more than 40 percent of the whole corpus) are from the time of Esarhaddon and seem to reflect the fact of his failing health. All told, 389 letters are edited in this volume, many of them well preserved (or restorable with reasonable confidence). Most of these letters have been provided with a very detailed commentary in *LAS* 2. In the space available here, I can comment on only a few of the matters deserving fuller discussion.

No. 160 is a long and detailed letter in Babylonian script advising the king of twenty able scholars in the various disciplines and even mentioning a number of specialized series by name. This letter is made up of a number of fragments, two of which were edited separately by H. Hunger in the Reiner Festschrift but to which additional fragments have been added.

No. 184 (previously edited in *LAS* 2 as No. 353) is apparently the only letter (based on typical shape and remnants of what is obviously a message) of the Sargonid period dealing with extispicy.

No. 191 deals with testing medication on servants or slaves before administering it to the crown prince.

In No. 192 one wonders what the origin might be for the prohibition of the crown prince riding on a horse.

Nos. 209 and 210 both deal with the "Farmer," that is, the real king while a substitute king is reigning. No. 209 (see discussion by Parpola in *LAS* 2 No. 139) is

¹ *LAS* 1 refers to *Letters from Assyrian Scholars* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1970) and *LAS* 2 (1983) to the volume of commentary.

especially intriguing. It has been suggested that the "girl" who is to enter the "Farmer's" chamber is in fact the queen. After that, the "Farmer" is to have the attention of the šu.1, usually translated as "barber." Obviously, this is part of a cleansing or purification ritual. It is clear from No. 210 that the "barber" also trims the nails, though whether in this case it is part of a purification rite (it is three days later than No. 209) or whether it is part of the ritual to protect the real king from the ominous consequences of an earthquake (as Parpola suggests) is not completely clear.

No. 275 is a good example of the extent to which one needs to have access to *LAS* 2 when using this volume. In this instance, Parpola has changed his mind on the identity of the writer of the letter (whose name is broken away) since the publication of *LAS* 2. Without consulting *LAS* 2, one would not know what Parpola thinks the phrase "the king wears the clothes of a nurse" means, nor that the term translated (correctly, I believe) as "injunctions" has had a number of other meanings suggested for it.

No. 293, which Parpola entitles "Royal Childbirth Gone Wrong," is a Babylonian letter made up of three pieces originally published separately plus an unpublished piece joined by Parpola. Since so little is known about childbirth in Mesopotamia from nonliterary sources, it is particularly frustrating that there remain sizable gaps in this letter. It does appear, however, that the pregnant woman (not identified, but presumably a member of the king's family) was taken into the temple of Gula, goddess of healing, probably for appropriate rituals, the nature of which cannot be determined from the preserved parts of the letter. The point of the letter seems to be that everyone had done everything they could in the matter.

In No. 325, Parpola translated *kasû*, with hesitation, as "beet plant." This is surely not correct. It is one of the most frequently attested ingredients in medical prescriptions, but it is almost always to be applied externally. It is used occasionally for enemas and once in a while to induce vomiting. I think it is likely that it is a plant that is very pungent and used only in small quantities in food and that more concentrated amounts are toxic enough to cause vomiting. This hardly fits the beet plant.²

² See now the detailed discussion by M. Stol in "Beer in Neo-Babylonian Times," in Lucio Milano, ed., *Drinking in Ancient Societies: History and Culture of Drinks in the Ancient Near East* (Padua, 1995), pp. 175–79, who argues for the interpretation as dodder.

In No. 362, a typing error has turned *šammu*, "grass" into *šamnu*, "oil." The translation has, correctly, "grass," but the passage appears as *šamnu* in the glossary.

In No. 364 there is mention of a "bridge of ships." One naturally thinks of a pontoon bridge, such as has been used until relatively recently in Iraq, but one should see Parpola's discussion in *LAS* 2, No. 291.³

The choice of illustrations (as usual in this series, made by Julian Reade) is truly remarkable, as for example, the five clay dogs inscribed with their apotropaic names in fig. 25. In the case of fig. 26 on p. 206, one would like to know where the figurines come from.

This is a fascinating book to read. Many people will no doubt want to consult the detailed commentaries in *LAS* 2 to understand the letters better, however. Parpola and his colleagues deserve highest praise for this remarkable volume of letters.

³ To me, the expression "bridge of ships" calls to mind not a bridge on *guffas*, but rather on boats lashed together as shown in a photo entitled "The Bridge of Boats at Baghdad" in H. Valentine Geere, *By Nile and Euphrates: A Record of Discovery and Adventure* (Edinburgh, 1904), plate facing p. 105.

ROBERT D. BIGGS

The University of Chicago

Economics of Cult in the Ancient Greek World: Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1990. Boreas, Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations, vol. 21. Edited by TULLIA LINDERS and BRITA ALROTH. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1992. Pp. 99. S.Kr. 142.

This symposium is the third in a series of symposia arranged by the Department of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History of the University of Uppsala. The subject was chosen to honor the retiring Department Chairman, Tullia Linders, who has written on the subject. Aspects of the topic were addressed by ten scholars, all of whose papers are included in the publication. The variety of viewpoints presented illustrate many different approaches are possible to discover the role of cults in the economic life of the ancient world.

The general subject of this collection of papers is one which should be of interest to all archaeologists, and the wide variety of topics may well suggest new lines for inquiry and research. Robin Hagg's paper, "Sanctuaries and Workshops in the Bronze Age Aegean," and Christina Risberg on "Metal Working in Greek Sanctuaries," are two especially interesting papers, presenting evidence for metalworking facilities within sanctuary boundaries in both the Bronze Age and the early Iron Age on Cyprus, in Greece, and in the Aegean. The evidence considered is difficult to identify and is mostly unpublished. These two presentations focus attention on an important, but little known, aspect of Greek sanctuaries and are suggestive of the economic roles sanctuaries played in international trade for raw materials, manufacturing, and domestic distribution of raw materials and finished products. Cecilia Beer's contribution, "Ethnic Diversity and Financial Differentiation in Cypriote Sanctuaries," discusses inscriptions and votive offerings, especially sculptures, and their value for estimating the financial status of individuals, groups of people, and ethnic communities. Sanctuaries selected for analysis are at Idalion, Golgoi, and Kition. Michael Vicker's contribution, "The Metrology of Gold and Silver Plate in Classical Greece," is of broad interest for its methodology. Still another paper of interest for methodology is that of Sara Aleshire entitled, "The Economics of Dedication at the Athenian Asklepieion."

Each paper has substantial reference notes, and each is followed by discussion. Most papers are well illustrated with photographs, plans, drawings, tables, or graphs. Although the presentations do not always offer final answers, the variety of ways in which the authors analyze and interpret evidence from Greek and Cypriote sanctuaries should stimulate additional studies of the economics of cult stemming from new interpretations of archaeological and epigraphic remains from sanctuaries throughout the ancient world.

ELEANOR GURALNICK

Chicago, Illinois

Early History of the Israelite People: From the Written and Archaeological Sources. By THOMAS L. THOMPSON. Studies in the History of the Ancient Near East, vol. 4. Leiden, New York, and Cologne: E. J. Brill, 1992. Pp. xv + 489. \$123.

For Thomas L. Thompson, the implausibility of contemporary reconstructions of the Israelite history stems from the fact that they are grounded in the Bible; the "hard facts" of epigraphic and material remains are interpreted in conformity with the artificially constructed, linear history presented in the Bible. The only legitimate venue into the history of the region is through studying the written and archaeological sources divorced from the biblical story.

Thompson's presentation may be divided into three sections: a highly critical review of histories of Israel written between the late-nineteenth century and the 1980s (chaps. 1-4), a selective review of archaeological, climatic, and epigraphic evidence from the Early Bronze Age through the Late Bronze-Iron Age transition (chaps. 5-6), and Thompson's own history of Israel (chaps. 7-9, including revisions of previously published articles).

As opposed to the biblical description of one nation unified by religious beliefs and practices by the tenth century B.C.E., Thompson argues for the primacy of economic forces in generating the emergence of a northern (Israel) and a southern (Judah) state in the ninth and seventh centuries B.C.E., respectively. An improved climate in the mid-eleventh century B.C.E. promoted production necessitating centralized organizations to manage the interregional and international trade. Basic to this reconstruction is the premise that the increasingly arid climate of the Late Bronze Age peaked around 1200 B.C.E., with moister conditions returning during the second half of the eleventh century (pp. 215-20). An overview of changes in flora and fauna, evidence for climatic change from sediment cores and changes in settlement patterns with attention to agriculture and pasturing evidence are expected to prove the point. Sediment analysis from Tel Lachish contradicts Thompson's premise. At Lachish, an erosional phase with a low water table persisted from the Middle Bronze IIA through the late Iron Age or early Persian period (A. Miller, *Cities of*

Clay: The Geoarcheology of Tells [Chicago, 1986], p. 65).

To refute the biblical notion of a preexilic unified "Israel," Thompson demonstrates that the north and the south, biblical "Israel" and "Judah," respectively, each underwent an independent development. The northern population, specifically in highland Ephraim, swelled between 1250 and 1000 B.C.E. with lowland agriculturalists and neighboring steppe dwellers, both dislocated by climatic stress, joining indigenous nonsedentary groups (p. 407). These new settlers practiced grain agriculture and pastoralism in the semi-steppe regions, farming in the fertile plateaus and valleys, and horticulture-viniculture on the rugged western slopes. Critical to Thompson's reconstruction is the notion that these contemporaneous settlements flourished through interdependent markets which encouraged regional specialization (p. 233). To prove his point, Thompson reinterprets or omits contradictory evidence without explanation. Two examples are illustrative. First, I. Finkelstein claimed his highland archaeological survey demonstrated a *gradual* rather than the *contemporaneous* settlement of the region as argued by Thompson (*The Archaeology of the Israelite Settlement* [Jerusalem, 1988], pp. 187, 190, 198–99). Second, the combination of pens for sheep/goats and agricultural terracing led J. Callaway to interpret the highland sites of Ai and Khirbet Raddana as *subsistence farms* rather than *specialized production* centers ("Village Subsistence at Ai and Raddana in Iron Age," in H. O. Thompson, ed., *The Answers Lie Below: Essays in Honor of Lawrence Edmund Toombs* [New York, 1984], pp. 51–65). Thompson omits this contradictory evidence.

From 1050 to 850 B.C.E., the improved climate led to greater prosperity during a period of revived international trade. A "region-wide agricultural cartel" built Samaria as an autonomous center to regulate agricultural export (p. 409). With no evidence provided for this reconstruction, Thompson is subject to the criticism which he levels at Gottwald, using "an abstract interpretive structure in lieu of evidence" (p. 74). Thus for Thompson, in the ninth century B.C.E. the northern settlers developed a neutral, market city which became the capital city of the political entity called "Israel."

In contrast to the northern democratic union with its capital city Samaria, Thompson reconstructs the growth of Jerusalem as "imperial-type expansion of a city-state over subject people" (p. 411). (Is Thompson "confusing ideology with reality" [p. 75], as he charges Gottwald?) From the tenth through the eighth centuries B.C.E., Jerusalem is characterized as a small, provincial town competing with Lachish, Hebron, and northern Negev towns for control of the highland produce. It is not until the seventh century B.C.E., probably due to Assyrian reorganization of the vassal state, that Jerusalem becomes the capital of a regional state (p. 411). Again, Thompson provides inadequate evidence to support his interpretation. For example, Judah's growth is attributed to settlements of displaced persons from the Shephelah and the forced sedentarization of pastoralists to produce olives for Shephelah processing plants such as Ekron (p. 410). It might be inferred from the Arad (and Lachish) letters that this site served as part of a network of protective outposts for Judah (J. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* [Princeton, 1969], p. 322, Ostrakon VI; p. 569, Letter A). Thompson marshalls no data demonstrating that the Negev fortresses were built under Shephelah impetus to provide forced agricultural labor.

Thompson distinguishes between the population of the thirteenth–seventh centuries B.C.E. known through its archaeological remains, on the one hand, and on the other hand, "Israel" or "Bnei Yisrael," as a literary creation of the Persian period. While the "Israel/Bnei Yisrael" of the Bible cast its history in light of Persian period events, this does not mean that a people which identified itself as "Israel" did not exist before the Persian period. In arguing for a Persian period date for the emergence of "Israel," Thompson resorts to disingenuous arguments, misinformation, and omission of relevant information. While concurring with Bright that "biblical historiography can only be affirmed on the basis of extrabiblical confirmation" (p. 81), Thompson rejects the Merneptah reference to "Israel" and the Assyrian "Bit Humri" as "even less relevant than the biblical traditions, if only because of the logical imperative that requires us to establish an association of them with the Israel

of tradition." Thompson's argument here is fallacious. Misinformation includes the claim of no early gentile form for "Canaanite" (p. 311), a form attested in the Ugaritic text CTA 91.7 = KTU 4.96.7. To bolster his argument for no identifiable "Israel" in the Iron I period, Thompson asserts there was no Canaanite-Israelite cultural distinction. Typical of his style of rebuttal, Thompson characterizes "Canaanite" as the city-state culture of the lowlands which "assumes a politico-ethnic unity and substance that simply does not correspond with any reality we know, even during the Bronze Age" (p. 311). "Culture" need not entail a "politico-ethnic unity," as illustrated by the phrase "western culture." Burial practices are but one example of the dramatic differences between lowland and highland culture through the Bronze and Iron Ages. Simple, cist, and jar burials prevailed along the coast, while cave and chamber tombs with their divergent mortuary assemblage were the predominant choice in the highlands (see my *Judahite Burial Practices and Beliefs about the Dead*, JSOT Supp. Series 123, JSOT/ASOR Monograph Series 7 [Sheffield, 1992]; R. Gonen, *Burial Patterns and Cultural Diversity in Late Bronze Age Canaan*, ASOR Dissertation Series 7 [Winona Lake, Indiana, 1992]). Just as Thompson manipulates the archaeological and epigraphic evidence, so he withholds biblical data supporting the existence of an Iron Age "Israel." While acknowledging "echoes" and "memories" of the past incorporated in the Persian period biblical texts, Thompson neither identifies the historical material nor utilizes those biblical texts in reconstructing a history of Israel. More fundamentally, he provides no criteria for determining historicity, even as he criticizes so many other scholars for the lack of historicity in their reconstructions.

Thompson's highly selective use of evidence may stem in part from his working definition of an ethnos. Though he never defines the term, Thompson has adopted the biblical notion of an "Israel" unified solely through adherence to a Persian period form of Yahwism. Early Israelite ethnicity may have been based on other grounds. Anthropological definitions of ethnicity include a biological component, shared language, similar general economic orientation, history, and world views, or a "cultural identity" based on

specific shared practices. Based on their ethnographic and archaeological field studies, A. Holl and T. Levy propose that "ethnicity is better considered in processual terms as a socially constructed palimpsest which aims to highlight the differences between a group's ego and outsiders" ("From the Nile Valley to the Chad Basin: Ethnoarchaeology of Shuwa Arab Settlements," *Biblical Archaeologist* 56 [1993]: 171). Judges 5, dated by most scholars to the tenth century B.C.E. or earlier on the basis of linguistic evidence, provides economic, strategic, and religious reasons for an early alliance. In both the Merneptah stele inscription and Judges 5, earliest "Israel" is identified by a name with a theophoric element, suggesting that religious affiliation and perhaps also attributed kinship ties may have been factors in early unity. Iron I-II "Israel" may have been an initially geographically limited economic, strategic, and religious union, which secondarily came to define itself in primarily kindred and religious terms.

In general, while Thompson insightfully exposes American and Israeli scholars' (Cross, Finkelstein, Gottwald, Hopkins, Mendenhall) presuppositions and reliance upon the biblical narrative for dating and interpretation, he embraces the work of German, Swedish, and Danish scholars (Alt, Knauf, Lemche, Weippert, Ullendorf) with little critical scrutiny. Endemic to this volume is the author's failure to provide the "hard facts" supporting his own reconstructions, a problem he attributes to others. Finally, Thompson's gratuitous and dismissive language discourages dialogue and so hinders the greater scholarly enterprise.

ELIZABETH BLOCH-SMITH

Bala Cynwyd, Pennsylvania

Jeremiah: An Archaeological Companion. By PHILIP J. KING. Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster/John Knox, 1993. Pp. xxvi + 204 + 70 figs. \$27.

The second half of this century has witnessed the increasing specialization of biblical studies and related disciplines such as Syro-Palestinian archaeology. As a result, a number of textual

approaches to biblical texts has utilized the growing archaeological evidence less and less. This volume is the second in a series designed to overcome this increasing gap (the first was King's earlier volume, *Amos, Hosea, Micah: An Archaeological Commentary* [Philadelphia, 1988]). This volume on Jeremiah admirably presents a wide range of realia to illuminate this prophetic book for a general audience. This is not to say that scholars have nothing to learn from this work—on the contrary.

The volume opens with an introduction to archaeology and biblical studies. Archaeology is a discipline independent of biblical studies; the archaeological data involve a complex process of collection, examination, and interpretation. Similarly, textual studies have shown the complicated and highly redacted form of the book of Jeremiah. After textual and archaeological research has been determined independently, then their results may be compared, sometimes to their mutual illumination. This comparison may function on two levels. First, archaeological evidence is brought to bear on realia mentioned in specific passages of Jeremiah. For example, an incense burner found on a roof during the 1992 season at Ashkelon provides archaeological evidence for the burning of incense on roofs mentioned in Jer. 19:13. Second, the material remains of the Judean culture provide a better understanding of the prophet's historical circumstances.

King does not exceed the limits of either the archaeological or textual evidence; there is neither theoretical sociological analysis of the prophet's social status or location, nor speculation about the social process involved in the production of the book itself. While cognizant of the book's heavily redacted character, King at times tends to treat the book as the prophet's biography. Studies since the 1970s have questioned the biographical character of the book and have regarded it as a literary and theological portrait of the prophet designed to serve a wider religious function within the exilic and postexilic Jewish community. These scholarly debates barely intrude in this book, and for the most part unnecessarily so. It is not King's purpose to use archaeology to "prove" the historical authenticity of the prophet or his life in some manner. To elucidate realia mentioned in Jeremiah, King

draws on textual and archaeological material ranging from the Late Bronze Age down to the Hellenistic period. As a result of using information from such a wide temporal range, King illuminates the wider world not only of the prophet himself, but also that of later generations which contributed to, transmitted, and redacted the book named after him.

The first three chapters discuss the life and times of the prophet, the nature of the book's production, and the larger historical and geographical background. The third chapter provides a geographical commentary on the place-names mentioned in the oracles against the nations (Jeremiah 46–51 in the Masoretic text). The fourth and fifth chapters focus on Judah and Edom as regions and then the cities of Judah mentioned in the book. Excavations and surveys of sites in both modern Jordan and Israel have aided the identifications of places mentioned in Jeremiah. They have also provided more precise information about the relations between Edom and Judah in the Iron II period. The remaining five chapters give a wealth of information about specific topics: inscriptions and literacy, worship and architecture, funerary customs, agriculture, and crafts.

A few minor quibbles: a map locating the rivers discussed in chap. 3 could have been more helpful (the map intended for this chapter given on p. 28 does not meet this need). The figurines said to represent Astarte (pp. 62, 63) have been identified with other goddesses or as human. King perpetuates the idea that Israelites adopted cultural customs from the Canaanites (p. 139), but such customs may be understood as part of Israel's own West Semitic cultural heritage. Textual references to the *marseah* (p. 140) may predate the fourteenth century; this institution has been identified at Ebla (see M. H. Pope, "The Cult of the Dead at Ugarit," *Ugarit in Retrospect: Fifty Years of Ugarit and Ugaritic*, ed. G. D. Young [Winona Lake, Indiana, 1981], p. 179, n. 65). King does not tell his readers that the translation of Jer. 33:2 on p. 174 reads in part with the Septuagint and not the Masoretic text, although words transliterated from the Hebrew text are provided in parentheses in the translation. It is unclear why the different historical periods are introduced on p. 180. This information appears also at the beginning of the

book on p. xvii. If it is needed in the body of the text, it would have benefited the reader more had it been put in one of the initial chapters.

Such minor points hardly detract from the excellent presentation of archaeological material. Readers will learn not only all kinds of new archaeological facts about religion, technology, crafts, agriculture, trade, and literacy and writing. They also will experience the modern story of how these discoveries were made. The author always bears the needs of the general audience in mind. The book provides numerous maps, drawings, and photographs of archaeological realia, a list of biblical books, an outline of the book of Jeremiah, a glossary of archaeological terms, and several indexes. Secondary references barely intrude into the lively and clear presentation of material. Readers interested in following up the secondary references, but untrained in the arcane scholarly literature, will find King's citations *au point*: all but one reference, for example, are in English, and many of the sources may be found in most college, university, and seminary libraries. In sum, the author is to be congratulated both for filling a sizable gap in the study of the book of Jeremiah and for opening this study to a general readership.

MARK S. SMITH

Saint Joseph's University
Philadelphia

Excavations at Rhehovot-in-the-Negev. Vol. 1. *The Northern Church*. By YORAM TSAFRIR ET AL. Qedem: Monographs of the Institute of Archaeology, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, vol. 25. Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology, The Hebrew University, 1988. Pp. xxviii + 209 + figs. + pls. + tables.

The newer interest in the excavation and publication of the provincial cities of the Negev is well advanced by this volume. Though much has been written about these cities, few stratigraphic archaeological reports have actually appeared. Tsafir's volume is a happy exception.

Though it contains quite a bit of information about the city as a whole, the report focuses on Area E in the north of the city, the Northern

Church. Excavation of that church (and a few other areas: A, C, D) already shows an irregular city plan *contra* conclusions reached on the basis of previous aerial photography (p. 5). Set within an estimated populace of 4,800 (40 persons per dunum) (p. 7), the church, a triapsed structure with a fully developed crypt, was constructed in a brief period of time in the second half of the fifth century (p. 26). It is identified as a "pilgrim church" (probably meaning "pilgrimage church") (p. 22), thus adding to our picture of the development of local Christian holy-place shrines in the Negev.

The report does what Israeli (and especially Qedem series) reports do best—there are superb reports of the architecture and architectural fragments, the inscriptions (but cf. the typo on p. 165: read "blessed" for "blesseld"), ceramics, and burials. The weakness of the report is that what is publicized as a final report, though longer and more careful than a preliminary report, is more incomplete than, say, an ASOR final report.

The excellent ceramics chapter (chap. 4; cf. p. 94) is not integrated into the report. It is difficult to tell what the state of the site was when excavation began (cf. pp. 20, 22); sections tend to be spare and schematic (p. 31; but cf. fig. 22, p. 58); sequence is discussed in architectural rather than stratigraphic terms (p. 73). An important discovery of what is most probably a graffito depiction of the Northern Church (fig. III.161, p. 109) is noted without appeal to parallel depictions from ethnoarchaeology. Despite the excellent work which appears here on ethnic types (pp. 202–4) and the important discovery of female skeletons, anthropological interest is slight, and feminist concerns are nonexistent.

Yet Tsafir and his colleagues have produced a readable and largely commendable report which presents excellent information and analyses for use by the historians, archaeologists, and anthropologists of the Byzantine era in Israel.

DENNIS E. GROH

Illinois Wesleyan University
Bloomington

Deuteronomy 1-11: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary. By MOSHE WEINFELD. Anchor Bible, vol. 5. New York: Doubleday, 1991. Pp. xvi + 458. \$34.

The trend towards multiple-volume commentaries on the books of the Torah in recent volumes of the Anchor Bible series continues here. Though the dust jacket indicates that we are to expect only one more volume on Deuteronomy, this one, in fact, covers only the first third of the book, with some very important and commentable chapters upcoming, which may end up requiring two additional volumes. This multi-volume trend is only a facet of the general trend of the series towards being addressed to scholars rather than to the educated public.

Weinfeld is one of the world's leading authorities on the Book of Deuteronomy and has been publishing studies on one aspect or another of the book for three decades now (the first title under his name in the bibliography of this volume was on cult centralization, published in this journal in 1964). This volume deals, as is to be expected, with questions of dating (seventh–sixth centuries), sources (the book is composite, but Weinfeld is usually loath to attempt to isolate the sources except in very broad terms (for example, chaps. 1–4 date from the exilic period), relationship to the other sources of the Torah (Deuteronomy is the latest; lack of influence from P has to do with difference of interest and intent rather than with chronology), and ancient Near Eastern parallels (e.g., the “Archimedean point” of pentateuchal studies is provided by similarities between Deuteronomy and the Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon).

Viewing this volume from a philological perspective, one finds many things to praise, and only two principal areas deserving of criticism: (1) the transliterations reveal a total absence of system in vowel representation and in notation of gemination (though one cannot, perhaps, ask a speaker of Modern Hebrew to master a transliteration system for Biblical Hebrew, the Anchor Bible editorial staff seem to be asleep at the wheel in this respect—see similar remarks in my review of the Anchor Bible *Numbers*, *JNES* 55 [1996]: 301–2; (2) the ancient Near Eastern parallels sometimes begin looking like entries in a card file, cited without explanation of the na-

ture and meaning of the parallel (for example, what does “Ashera” mean in the Kuntillet ‘Ajrud and Khirbet el-Qom Hebrew inscriptions” [cf. pp. 366–67]; how can a scholar of Weinfeld's status and general atunement to Akkadian sources of comparison still be translating *hbrk* in the Karatepe inscription by “blessed of,” without commentary? [cf. p. 285, where the text is cited for another feature]).

Philologists and specialists in one branch or another of Old Testament studies will agree or disagree on the details of this commentary, but all will find it an important work to consult, the *sumum* of a major figure's research on the book.

DENNIS PARDEE

The University of Chicago

Biblia Hebraica transcripta, BH¹, das ist das ganze Alte Testament transkribiert, mit Satzeinteilungen versehen und durch die Version tiberisch-masoretischer Autoritäten bereichert, auf der sie gründet. 1. Genesis. By WOLFGANG RICHTER. Münchener Universitätsschriften, Philosophische Fakultät Altertumskunde und Kulturwissenschaften, Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament 33.1. St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1991. Pp. 485. DM 58.

Biblia Hebraica transcripta, BH¹, das ist das ganze Alte Testament transkribiert, mit Satzeinteilungen versehen und durch die Version tiberisch-masoretischer Autoritäten bereichert, auf der sie gründet. 2. Exodus, Leviticus. By WOLFGANG RICHTER. Münchener Universitätsschriften, Philosophische Fakultät Altertumskunde und Kulturwissenschaften, Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament 33.2. St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1991. Pp. 629. DM 68.

Biblia Hebraica transcripta, BH¹, das ist das ganze Alte Testament transkribiert, mit Satzeinteilungen versehen und durch die Version tiberisch-masoretischer Autoritäten bereichert, auf der sie gründet. 3. Numeri, Deuteronomium. By WOLFGANG RICHTER. Münchener Universitätsschriften, Philosophische Fakultät Altertumskunde und Kulturwis-

senschaften, Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament 33.3. St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1991. Pp. 701. DM 78.

Though Richter's defense of his transliteration system, *Transliteration und Transkription* (ATSAT 19 [St. Ottilien, 1983]) was not reviewed in these pages, it was described briefly in a note to another review (*JNES* 50 [1991]: 224–25, n. 2). The system has been used by Richter and his students in the nearly forty volumes that have appeared to date in the series ATSAT, and I have mentioned the system and some of its problems in reviewing works both grammatical (*JNES* 42 [1983]: 235–38; *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 51 [1989]: 328) and exegetical (*JNES* 50 [1991]: 224). The three volumes here under review are the first three of a series in which the entire Hebrew Bible will be provided in transliteration according to Richter's system.

Here the Hebrew text and the transcription appear on facing pages, the former on the right, the latter on the left. Both texts are broken up into syntactic units, each sentence/clause occupying a line on the page. In the transcribed text, proclitic and enclitic morphemes are separated from the principal lexical item by means of the equal sign (=), some sublexical morphemes by means of a hyphen. In addition, many vowels are represented in a pre-Massoretic form. Thus, a verbal phrase that in many transcription systems would appear something like *wayyiqqā-hēm* ('and he took them', Gen. 32:24) is here *wa=yiqqah-i=m* (vol. 33.1, p. 302). Though Richter refers to his system as a phonological one, the "transcriptions" are most often reconstructions at one level or another, while the problems of Hebrew historical grammar are such that these reconstructions reflect various levels of certainty, particularly as regards coexistence of various features at a given stage of the language and just what historical stage this transcription system is supposed to represent. Two examples of the types of uncertainties posed by such a system: (1) Some vowels are represented in pre-reduction form (e.g., *bāhēmāh* < *bahimatu* = "*bāhimā*" [p. 22]), others as reduced vowels (for example, the preformative of the Piel or the vowel of the monoconsonantal particles—with the exception of *waw*-consecutive + imperfect). (2) The historical dual oblique morpheme is rep-

resented in at least four ways ("ēn^caym," 'two eyes', "ēn^c-ay=[y]," 'my two eyes', "ēn^c-a(y)=w," 'his two eyes', and "ēn^cē=ha," 'her two eyes' [pp. 162, 278, 102, 168, respectively]). One can understand the different phonetic representations, since the monophthongization of /ay/ is certainly a pre-Massoretic phenomenon (though the monophthongization in an accented syllable remains a problem), but it is not immediately obvious why the "ay" element is treated differently from "aym" and why "ē" is in this respect treated like "aym."

I have confessed to being mystified to determine the usefulness of such an exercise in historical grammar for exegesis (*JNES* 50 [1991]: 224–25, n. 2). Even more of a mystery to me is Richter's expectation that someone should be able to distinguish on a significant level between phonetics and phonology in attempting to reconstruct the Ugaritic language (*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 76 [1986]: 305). Ugaritic phonology is, to a significant degree, a series of educated guesses, especially as regards vocalic morphophonology, and, with very few and dubious exceptions,¹ data permitting the identification of alloforms are simply not present.

¹ Cf., for example, my disagreement with J. Huehnergard regarding the proper interpretation of the syllabic spelling for the Ugaritic preposition *l* in *JNES* 50 (1991): 305.

DENNIS PARDEE

The University of Chicago

Notizen zur Phonologie des Bibelhebräischen.

By DAVID VOLGGER. *Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament*, vol. 36. St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1992. Pp. xii + 132. DM 24.80.

David Volgger's *Notizen* takes a new look at Tiberian Hebrew phonology from the vantage point of post-Chomskyan general linguistics. Volgger's study does not pretend to be exhaustive. Nor does it use the data as a cover for deeper ratiocinations on the nature of human language.

Rather, Volgger's work suggests how a representative sample of problems in Tiberian Hebrew phonology might be redescribed, and resolved, within the terminological and analytical confines of one particular off-branch of generative-linguistic theory.

Volgger's work begins with an overview of generative-transformation grammar, focusing specifically on its phonological component. Into this primarily synchronic system he injects various traditionally diachronic notions such as sound shift, analogy, and the existence of multiple historical-linguistic layers within the biblical text. His belief is that synchrony and diachrony—as classically defined—cannot be disentangled. Once he has established a general theoretical framework, Volgger narrows his focus down to two fundamental phonological problems, namely, a) how to isolate phonemes, and b) how to break them down into matrices of subphonemic “features,” such as [+/-high] and [+/-back].

Volgger begins his discussion of the Tiberian Hebrew dialect proper by applying a pregenerative, minimal-pair based distributional analysis to its sound system. Volgger's aim is not to update this analytical framework but, rather, to demonstrate that it leads to false conclusions. Having shown this, Volgger then offers a revised analysis—one that assumes a characteristically generative stance, treating superficial distributional anomalies as artifacts of ordered operations on a restricted inventory of “systematic” phonemes (of which he ends up positing twenty-seven).

Once he has pared his inventory down to twenty-seven systematic phonemes and has established a set of basic principles for deriving their surface realizations, Volgger then goes on to discuss some of the better-known aspects of Tiberian Hebrew phonology. Topics covered include (pre)tonic vowel changes, *dageš*, and *rafe* signs, the behavior of geminate consonants, the distribution of *šwa*, the phonemic status of the *ḥatefs*, vowel reductions and epenthesis, and the status and effect of guttural consonants on adjacent vowels. He then continues with a discussion of some well-known alternations such as *u~o*, *i~e*, *a~e~i*, attenuation, Philippi's Law, and the merging/syncope/vowel-izing of *w* and *y*. The work ends with a general summary, a bibli-

ography, and Hebrew word, biblical passage, and author indexes.

The strongest point of Volgger's work is that it compresses a fairly large quantity of information into a few brief and easily read sections. For example, he dispenses with the longstanding question of *דברי* vs. *מלכי* in under three pages, using an epenthesis rule that is keyed to the following consonant (§14.2). He likewise demonstrates that the *šwa* grapheme is simply a zero phonological vowel (phonetic [ə] or zero), discusses relevant prosodic rules, and reviews the main medieval pronunciation traditions—and this all in just under four pages (§12.4). Even if one does not share his theoretical predilections, Volgger's clear and matter-of-fact approach to the data, as well as his crisp, competent use of European and American literature, make his contribution a worthwhile addition to Biblical Hebrew scholarship.

Despite its many merits, the book contains a few apparent oversights and flaws. The most pressing of these is its failure to account for medieval Karaite transcriptions in Arabic characters. The work also assumes minimal binary feature redundancy on the systematic level—even though admitting multivalent and/or “helping” vowel features would have solved Volgger's problems with *segol* (p. 44). Finally, the book never completely disentangles diachronic and synchronic issues surrounding the feature [+/-long]. On the one hand, Volgger denies its phonemicity (e.g., p. 49). Yet he suggests that length might function as a “theoretical parameter” (p. 50). He also utilizes [+/-long] in derivations borrowed from other literature (e.g., pp. 69, 74–75, 91–92, 94, 96–97). Yet he only hints at the many drastic analytical changes necessitated by replacing quantitative with qualitative features (pp. 71, 94).

Additional, admittedly less substantive, criticisms might be leveled at the book's amateurish layout. The justification algorithm used by the typesetter, for example, leaves much to be desired. Italics and diacritics are also mingled inconsistently with the base font (e.g., “*pataḥ* and *segol*,” p. 34). Finally, hardly a page passes by without some sort of typographical error (*möchten*, Vorwort), miscited Hebrew form (*y²ws* [for *y²wš*], p. 31), misspelled English word (nonconsonantel, p. 19), incorrect transliteration (קטל qāṭāl¹⁹

[*t* for *l*.], p. 54), medial Hebrew letter in final position (מָן, p. 69), misnumbered section, 12.1.2, p. 97), missing footnote (276, p. 66), or infelicitous mixing of English and German (*long* and *lang*, p. 81). These, however, are minor points, and do not impinge on the book's overall worth.

In conclusion, it might be noted that because of its close connection with the exceedingly fluid state of current generative-phonological theory, Volgger's *Notizen* is likely to fall out of date relatively quickly. For the present, though, it remains a useful aid for those trying to keep pace with rapid changes in the field. Fortunately, Volgger is not preoccupied with notational issues. He also dispenses with the often convoluted and overly abstract rule "backbones" that form the basis of most generative grammars. As a result, Volgger's work turns out to be a fairly painless and accessible (though atypical) introduction to Tiberian phonology, as seen from the vantage point of one off-branch of modern generative linguistics.

RICHARD L. GOERWITZ III

The University of Chicago

The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East: Problems in the Literary Source Material.

Edited by AVERIL CAMERON and LAWRENCE I. CONRAD. *Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam*, vol. 1. Princeton: Darwin Press, 1992. Pp. xiv + 428. \$29.95.

This volume is the first publication resulting from the "Late Antiquity and Early Islam" (LAEI) project and represents research from the project's first colloquium held in London in 1989. If the overall quality of this first publication is any indication, the LAEI project will prove to be a major forum for the formation of new ideas and for the reorientation of paradigms whose shifting is long overdue. The pleasant format of the work, its detailed index, and its refreshingly low price are three more reasons to praise this volume. Further information on the project, its parameters and goals, as well as details on the first colloquium, can be found in the informative introduction to this volume.

The eight contributions to this volume comprise research in literary-historiographical problems in the "Big Three" literary languages of the Late Antique Near East: Greek, Syriac, and Arabic. This focus should be seen more as an indication of the deep need for serious critical work on sources in other languages (e.g., Coptic, Ethiopic, or Armenian) than on any biases of the editors. Chap. 1, "Greek Historical Writing after Procopius: Variety and Vitality," by Michael Whitby, is an historiographical sketch which traces the rises and falls of historical composition in Greek after Procopius. Whitby offers some explanations for the demise of this traditional historiography after the reign of Heraclius (pp. 66 ff.), such as the destruction of provincial wealth and the plight of provincial intellectuals at this time, who had earlier formed the majority of post-Procopius historians.

In his brief discursus on the pre-Islamic Arabs in these sources, however, Whitby claims that the lack of detailed information on the Arabs in these sources "reflects their lack of importance in contemporary wars and diplomacy." Yet this is just the attitude one should expect from Greek sources, not only because of the geographical, political, or racial biases of their authors, but also because of a long-lived rhetorical tradition of obscuring or simply ignoring "the barbarian." As the work of Irfan Shahid has shown, there is much in other literary and documentary traditions which counters this claim. This point aside, scholars unfamiliar with the variety of Greek historical works in Late Antiquity will find this chapter an invaluable introduction.

Chap. 2, "New Themes and Styles in Greek Literature: Seventh–Eighth Centuries," by Averil Cameron, counters the idea that the seventh and eighth centuries were a "dark age" in Byzantine literature. In fact, Cameron reminds us, there was a great amount of writing going on but in genres that have usually been considered "marginal" to historical or literary research and almost totally ignored by modern editors, translators, and commentators. This literature, which supersedes traditional genres (such as history, secular poetry, etc.) at this time, is mostly theological in nature: homilies, tracts, disputations, polemic, saints' lives, miracle stories, etc. Given

the immense size of this corpus, this chapter is only a sketch of this literature and its place in the broader sociohistorical context of the early medieval Near East. Though brief, this chapter is valuable as a primer to these genres by a noted authority, and as an introductory essay which opens a Pandora's Box of questions and problems that must be addressed if our knowledge of this long-ignored corpus is to advance.

Chap. 3, "The Works of Anastasius of Sinai: A Key Source for the History of Seventh-Century East Mediterranean Society and Belief," by John Haldon, seems to take Cameron's comments as his motivation. He examines the genre of "questions and answers" collections in Late Antiquity and analyzes in particular the *Quaestiones et responsiones* of Anastasius of Sinai written in the late seventh century. In addition to clarifying some of the textual problems surrounding Anastasius's corpus, Haldon provides some general comments on the contents of the *Quaestiones* and demonstrates the stunning potential of such sources for the cultural history of the region.

Chap. 4, "Ps.-Methodius: A Concept of History in Response to the Rise of Islam," by G. J. Reinink, reexamines the scheme of history described in the Syriac apocalypse of Ps.-Methodius and argues for, among other things, a new interpretation of this text's main goals and conceptualization of recent historical events, as well as the significance of its depiction of the redeeming King of the Greeks. On the basis of these conclusions, Reinink convincingly suggests a date for its composition in the early 690s, reflecting Christian fears of a reemergent Islamic empire under ʿAbd al-Malik and the eschatological coup d'état presented by the construction of the Dome of the Rock in 691–92.

Chap. 5, "The Gospel of the Twelve Apostles: A Syriac Apocalypse from the Early Islamic Period," by Hans J. W. Drijvers, is an introduction which reveals some complexities to this brief but intriguing apocalyptic text (it is, in fact, three treatises plus an introduction). After noting some of its textual sources, Drijvers suggests a composition date late in the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik, when Islamic rule was reestablished but factionalized enough to instill the possibility of an approaching end.

Chap. 6, "Early Islamic State Letters: The Question of Authenticity," by Wadād al-Qāḍī, is not merely an introduction to some of the earliest—and, for the historian, most interesting—unquestioned examples of Arabic prose by the so-called "father" of the genre, ʿAbd al-Ḥamid al-Kātib (d. 132/750), but is also a well-reasoned, step-by-step model study that will be useful generally in authenticating similar texts. Authentication and attribution are two of the greatest problems faced by any scholar utilizing Arabic literary texts, and we are thankful that Wadād al-Qāḍī has used her expertise here in solving definitively many of the problems surrounding the corpus of ʿAbd al-Ḥamid's letters and for providing a more general framework to guide future researchers in the *rasāʾil* genre. A thoughtful appendix presents ʿAbd al-Ḥamid's corpus in tabular form.

Chap. 7, "The Literary Use of the *Khabar*: A Basic Form of Historical Writing," by Stefan Leder, analyzes the narrative units of the early Arabic historical compilations as members of a discrete literary genre. Leder provides detailed case studies that demonstrate the deep reshaping of narrations during the process of transmission and the problems that this raises for "authorship" of these accounts. Most interesting are Leder's concluding sections in which he discusses the transformation of legendary material into seemingly objective "historical" reports and the relationship between the transmission, edition, and compilation of the seemingly unrelated realms of *khabar*, *qīṣaṣ*, and *ḥadīth*.

Chap. 8, "The Conquest of Arwād: A Source-Critical Study in the Historiography of the Early Medieval Near East," by Lawrence I. Conrad, is a lengthy study in historiographical *haruspex*tion, laying bare the very innards of the Islamic and eastern Christian historical traditions with all their intricate intertextuality, instability, contradictions, and problems of authenticity. The basis of the study is the small group of historical traditions surrounding the conquest of the island of Arwād in 29/650. Conrad first examines the eastern Christian accounts and covers the process of transmission in detail. All of these accounts seem ultimately to owe their information to a single source, that of Theophilus of Edessa. The implications of this for eastern Chris-

tian historiography of this period are rather profound: the relative wealth of sources in which the frustrated Byzantinist or Islamicist could find solace now collapses into different citations of the same lost work.

The Arab-Islamic tradition is next analyzed in the person of the notoriously erratic early historian Ibn Aṯṯam al-Kūfī, and in better-known historians such as al-Ṭabari's informant al-Wāqidi. The results—that these accounts display all the characteristics of literary productions elaborated over the first century based only on the sketchiest recollection of vague historical generalities—are not comforting for anyone looking for a “kernel of truth” beneath these different accounts. All in all, scholars familiar with these sources will find this chapter an important case study that exemplifies the problems that one can encounter in them. Conrad is careful not to generalize too much on the basis of this one example, however, and he wisely shows what kinds of valuable historical information can be gleaned from such a study and what new questions future historians will have to ask.

PAUL M. COBB

Smith College

Byzantium: A World Civilization. Edited by ANGELIKI E. LAIOU and HENRY MAGUIRE. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1992. Pp. 162 + 88 pls. \$30 (cloth), \$17.50 (paperback).

This compact volume is a commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the Center for Byzantine Studies at Dumbarton Oaks, in Washington, D.C. Most chapters are broad surveys or appreciations of their topics; some are simply synopses. They originated as oral lectures at a public conference in Washington on 3 November 1990, with the important exception of Henry Maguire's contribution. This does not pretend to be a volume of groundbreaking new scholarship and should not be criticized for its absence; the intended audience is very broad and nonspecialized. The purpose of publication of the essays is the enlightenment of that broader audience. Scholarly references and bib-

liography are generally very modest. There are two exceptions. Of special interest to readers of this journal is the essay by Irfan Shahid, which is an original, perceptive, and valuable overview of “Byzantium and the Islamic World,” with special reference to culture, pp. 49–60. Its focus is the ninth century and later, including the critical issue of cultural transmission and translation between Byzantine and Islamic cultures. Correction: on p. 60, n. 11, “Leipzig, 1944” ought to be “Leipzig, 1974.” Another most attractive and very original paper is that of Henry Maguire entitled “Byzantine Art History Scholarship in the Second Half of the Twentieth Century,” on pp. 119–55. Unlike most other contributions, it is not merely an appreciation or description of the state of scholarship. It was not part of the original general public conference. It includes his entirely justified reservations and qualifications about, and a carefully tooled critique of the negative effects of the stupidities and excesses of modernist criticism on Byzantine art history. This essay deserves wide circulation, attention, and reflection. He raises many issues and makes his points very persuasively. The volume contains some magnificent color plates of selected objects in the permanent Dumbarton Oaks Collection.

WALTER E. KAEGLI

The University of Chicago

Who's Who in Biblical Studies and Archaeology. 2d ed. Washington: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1993. Pp. xiv + 360. \$39.95.

A volume such as this, if it is to be useful, needs to be up to date. The original edition (1986) served well for several years, but the time was ripe for a new edition. It is, necessarily, only a partial listing of scholars and teachers in the fields of biblical studies and archaeology (as broadly defined) who are currently active. Coverage is best for North America, but a considerable number of scholars from abroad are also included. Some people, either intentionally (perhaps to avoid getting on yet more mailing lists) or through oversight, did not return the

information forms and are consequently not included. Indexes make it possible to seek particular groups of people (for their fields of interest or their geographical location, for example).

It is indeed useful to have the basic information, which includes mailing addresses. If I may express what I see as a desideratum for the next edition, it would be electronic-mail addresses. Now, when nearly all academics in North America have access to e-mail, it would have facilitated communication and discourse to have

provided this additional information. Let us be thankful that we have this second edition and express appreciation to the Biblical Archaeology Society for the efforts which resulted in its publication.

ROBERT D. BIGGS

The University of Chicago

BOOKS RECEIVED

- Aljama: *Boletín de Información Bibliográfica*. Vol. 8. Oviedo, Spain: Universidad de Oviedo: Departamento de Filología Clásica y Románica, 1996. Pp. 108.
- American *Journal of Numismatics* 5-6 (1993-94). New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1995. Pp. v + 274 + 28 pls. \$40.
- BERLINERBLAU, JACQUES. *The Vow and the 'Popular Religious Groups' of Ancient Israel: A Philological and Sociological Inquiry*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series 210. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996. Pp. 219. \$58.50.
- BOER, ROLAND. *Jameson and Jeroboam*. The Society of Biblical Literature, Semeia Studies. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996. Pp. xviii + 367. \$29.95.
- Bohak, Gideon. *Joseph and Aseneth and the Jewish Temple in Heliopolis*. Society of Biblical Literature, Early Judaism and Its Literature, no. 10. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996. Pp. xv + 141. \$39.95.
- BONACOSSO, DANIELE MORANDI. *Tra il fiume e la steppa: Insediamento e uso del territorio nella bassa valle del fiume Habur in epoca neo-assira*. 2 vols. History of the Ancient Near East/Monographs, no. 1. Padua: Sargon srl, 1996. Vol. 1, pp. xvi + 295 + 1 fig.; vol. 2, 42 figs. + 11 pls. + 2 photos.
- BONNER, MICHAEL. *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War: Studies in the Jihad and the Arab-Byzantine Frontier*. American Oriental Series, vol. 81. New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1996. Pp. xv + 221. \$35.
- BORGER, RYKLE. *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals: Die Prismenklassen A, B, C = K, D, E, F, G, H, J und T sowie andere Inschriften*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1996. Pp. xviii + 388 + 13 microfiche. DM 248.
- BRENIQUET, CATHERINE. *La Disparition de la culture de Halaf: Les origines de la culture d'Obeid dans le Nord de la Mésopotamie*. Bibliothèque de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iraq, no. 9, Centre de Recherche d'Archéologie Orientale Université de Paris I, no. 12. Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1996. Pp. 152 + 62 pls.
- BUCKWALTER, HAROLD DOUGLAS and SHOAFF, MARY KEIL. *Guide to the Reference Systems for the Works of Flavius Josephus*. Evangelical Theological Society Monograph Series, no. 3. Winona Lake, Indiana: Evangelical Theological Society, 1995. Pp. ix + 41. \$8 [distributed by Eisenbrauns, P. O. Box 275, Winona Lake, Indiana 46590].
- BYBEE, HOWARD C. and L'HEUREUX, CONRAD. *Bibliography of Syrian Archaeological Sites to 1980*. Lewiston, Queenston, and Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 1995. Pp. xi + 236. \$89.95.
- Cahiers de Karnak* 10 (1995). Centre Franco-Egyptien d'Etude des Temples de Karnak. Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1995. Pp. xxxii + 547 + 200 figs.
- CAMERON, AVERIL, ed. *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East, III: States, Resources and Armies*. Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam 1. Princeton: The Darwin Press, Inc., 1995. Pp. xvi + 491. \$35.
- CANCIK-KIRSCHBAUM, EVA CHRISTIANE. *Die mittelassyrischen Briefe aus Tall Šeh Ḥamad*. Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Šeh Ḥamad/Dür-Katlimmu, Band 4, Texte 1. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1996. Pp. xl + 245 + 10 figs. + 46 pls. DM 128.
- CARR, DAVID M. *Reading the Fractures of Genesis: Historical and Literary Approaches*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996. Pp. x + 388. \$39.
- CHAPPAZ, JEAN-LUC and POGGIA, SANDRA. *Collections égyptiennes publiques de Suisse: Un répertoire géographique*. Cahiers de la Société d'Égyptologie, vol. 3. Geneva: Société d'Égyptologie, 1996. Pp. 104 + 10 figs. 20 Swiss francs.
- CIFOLA, BARBARA. *Analysis of Variants in the Assyrian Royal Titulary from the Origins to Tiglath-Pileser III*. Istituto Universitario Orientale, Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, Series Minor, vol. 47. Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1996. Pp. x + 193 + 26 charts.
- CLARK, GILLIAN, ed. *Augustine Confessions, Books I-IV*. Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics, Imperial Library. Cambridge: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1995. Pp. x + 198. \$59.95.
- CLEMENTS, RONALD E. *Old Testament Prophecy: From Oracles to Canon*. Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996. Pp. x + 278.
- COLE, STEVEN W. *The Early Neo-Babylonian Governor's Archive from Nippur*. Excavations at Nippur, vol. 4. Oriental Institute Publications, vol. 114.

- Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1996. Pp. xliii + 3 figs. \$65.
- COLE, STEVEN W. *Nippur in Late Assyrian Times c. 755–512 BC*. State Archives of Assyria Studies, vol. 4. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1996. Pp. xx + 138. \$29.50.
- COOPER, MALCOLM A.; FIRTH, ANTHONY; CARMAN, JOHN; and WHEATLEY, DAVID, eds. *Managing Archaeology*. Theoretical Archaeology Group. London and New York: Routledge, 1995. Pp. xviii + 259 + 29 figs. \$59.95.
- CORSI MEYA, J. *A Concordance of The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos*. Aula Orientalis, Supplementa 10. Barcelona: Editorial AUSA, 1995. Pp. 119.
- CULPEPPER, R. ALAN and BLACK, C. CLIFTON, eds. *Exploring the Gospel of John: In Honor of D. Moody Smith*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996. Pp. xxxiv + 409. \$42.
- DEL OLMO LETE, G. *Mitología y Religión del Oriente Antiguo II/2: Semitas Occidentales (Emar, Ugarit, Hebreos, Fenicios, Arameos, Árabes)*. Colección: Estudios Orientales 9. Barcelona: Editorial AUSA, 1995. Pp. 485.
- DEL OLMO LETE, G. and SANMARTÍN, J. *Diccionario de la Lengua Ugarítica*. Vol. 1. ²(a/i/u)-1. Aula Orientalis-Supplementa 7. Barcelona: Editorial AUSA, 1996. Pp. xxvii + 250.
- DIJKSTRA, KLAAS. *Life and Loyalty: A Study in the Socio-Religious Culture of Syria and Mesopotamia in the Graeco-Roman Period Based on Epigraphical Evidence*. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, vol. 128. Leiden, New York, and Cologne: E. J. Brill, 1995. Pp. xii + 375. \$136.
- DOMBRADI, EVA. *Die Darstellung des Rechtsausdrags in den altbabylonischen Prozessurkunden, Halband I: Die Gestaltung der altbabylonischen Prozessurkunden der altbabylonische Zivilprozess. Halband II: Appendix: Die Organe der Rechtsprechung Anmerkungen—Exkurse—Indices*. Freiburger altorientalische Studien, Band 20, 1 and 20, 2. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1996. Pp. xxvii + 378 and pp. iii + 391. DM 196 (both vols.).
- DOW, MARTIN. *The Islamic Baths of Palestine*. British Academy Monographs in Archaeology, No. 7. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996. Pp. xiii + 128 + 68 figs.
- EDELMAN, DIANA VIKANDER, ed. *The Triumph of Elohism: From Yahwisms to Judaisms*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1995. Pp. 262. \$25.
- EDER, CHRISTIAN. *Die ägyptischen Motive in der Glyptik des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes zu Anfang des 2. Jts. v. Chr.* Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 71. Leuven: Peeters, 1995. Pp. 324 + 44 pls. 2,000 Belgian francs.
- EGBERTS, A. *In Quest of Meaning: A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the Meret-Chests and Driving the Calves*. Vol. 1. Text. Vol. 2. Tables and Plates. Egyptologische Uitgaven VIII, 1 and 2. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1995. Vol. 1, pp. xxxvii + 514; vol. 2, 15 tables and 154 pls. 125 guilders.
- ENGLUND, ROBERT K. *Proto-Cuneiform Texts from Diverse Collections*. Materialien zu den frühen Schriftzeugnissen des Vorderen Orients, Band 4. Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1996. Pp. 110 + 46 pls. DM 72.
- FILER, JOYCE. *Disease*. Egyptian Bookshelf. London: British Museum Press, 1996. Pp. 112 + 70 figs. \$9.99.
- FRYE, RICHARD N. *The Heritage of Central Asia: From Antiquity to the Turkish Expansion*. Princeton Series on the Middle East. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1996. Pp. v + 263. \$16.95.
- GACEK, ADAM. *Arabic Lithographed Books in the Islamic Studies Library, McGill University: Descriptive Catalogue*. Fontanus Monograph Series VII. Montreal: McGill University Libraries, 1996. Pp. vii + 269 + 90 figs. \$45.
- GILSENAN, MICHAEL. *Lords of the Lebanese Marches: Violence and Narrative in an Arab Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996. Pp. xv + 377 + 19 figs. \$55 (cloth), \$22 (paperback).
- GIVA, HILLEL, ed. *Joseph Aviram Volume*. Eretz-Israel, vol. 25. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1996. Pp. xvi + 108 (English) + 551 (Hebrew). \$108.
- GLEDHILL, JOHN; BENDER, BARBARA; and LARSEN, MOGENS TROLLE, eds. *State and Society: The Emergence and Development of Social Hierarchy and Political Centralization*. One World Archaeology, vol. 4. London and New York: Routledge, 1995. Pp. xx + 347. \$25.
- GYSELEN, RIKI, ed. *Sites et monuments disparus d'après les témoignages de voyageurs*. Res Orientales, vol. 8. Bures-sur-Yvette: Groupe pour l'Etude de la Civilisation du Moyen-Orient, 1996. Pp. 205.
- HEINTZ, JEAN-GEORGES. *Index Documentaire d'El-Amarna*. Vol. 2. *Bibliographie des textes babyloniens d'El-Amarna (1888 à 1993) et Concordance des sigles EA*. Travaux du Group de Recherches et d'Etudes Sémitiques Anciennes de l'Université des Sciences Humaines de Strasbourg, vol. 4. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995. Pp. viii + 223. DM 168.
- HELLSTRÖM, PONTUS and ALROTH, BRITA, eds. *Religion and Power in the Ancient Greek World. Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1993*. BOREAS, Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations 24. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1996. Pp. 204. S.Kr. 174.
- HERR, LARRY G. with TRENCHARD, WARREN C. *Published Pottery of Palestine*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996. Pp. 309. \$34.95.
- HIDAKA, HIDEMI. *Chronique politique contemporaine de l'Iran VI*. Studia Culturae Islamicae 55, Iranian

- Studies 9. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 1996. Pp. 375 (Japanese).
- HOSTETTER, EDWIN C. *Nations Mightier and More Numerous: The Biblical View of Palestine's Pre-Islamic Peoples*. BIBAL Dissertation Series 3. North Richland Hills, Texas: BIBAL Press, 1995. Pp. viii + 172. \$12.95.
- HOWGEGO, CHRISTOPHER. *Ancient History from Coins. Approaching the Ancient World*. London and New York: Routledge, 1995. Pp. xvi + 176. \$16.95.
- ILAN, AMITZUR. *The Origin of the Arab-Israeli Arms Race: Arms, Embargo, Military Power and Decision in the 1948 Palestine War*. New York: New York University Press, 1996. Pp. xiii + 287. \$45.
- IZRE'EL, SHLOMO and DRORY, RINA, eds. *Language and Culture in the Near East*. Israel Oriental Studies 15. Leiden, New York, Cologne: E. J. Brill, 1995. Pp. 279. \$89.75.
- JANSEN-WINKEL, KARL. *Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik der Texte der 3. Zwischenzeit*. Ägypten und Altes Testament, Band 34. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996. Pp. xxxix + 556.
- JAS, REMKO. *Neo-Assyrian Judicial Procedures*. State Archives of Assyria Studies, vol. 5. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1996. Pp. x + 116. \$26.
- JONES, BRIAN C. *Howling over Moab: Irony and Rhetoric in Isaiah 15–16*. Society of Biblical Literature, Dissertation Series, no. 157. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996. Pp. xi + 292. \$29.95.
- JURSA, MICHAEL. *Die Landwirtschaft in Sippar in neubabylonischer Zeit*. Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft 25. Vienna: Institut für Orientalistik der Universität Wien, 1995. Pp. ix + 264 + 1 pl. öS 690.
- KUHRT, AMÉLIE. *The Ancient Near East c. 3000–330 B.C.* Routledge History of the Ancient World. London and New York: Routledge, 1996. Vol. 1, pp. xxvii + 389 + 35 tables + 17 maps; vol. 2, pp. xix + 385–782 + 17 figs. + 11 tables + 7 maps. \$150.
- KUKLICK, BRUCE. *Puritans in Babylon: The Ancient Near East and American Intellectual Life, 1880–1930*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996. Pp. xiii + 253. \$29.95.
- LIVERANI, MARIO, ed. *Neo-Assyrian Geography*. Quaderni di Geografia Storica, no. 5. Rome: Università di Roma, 1995. Pp. viii + 282 + 40 figs.
- MACQUEEN, J. G. *The Hittites and Their Contemporaries in Asia Minor*. Rev. and enl. ed. Ancient Peoples and Places. London: Thames and Hudson, 1986 (1st ed. 1975; 1st paperback 1996). Pp. 176 + 147 figs. \$15.95.
- MESSICK, BRINKLEY. *The Calligraphic State: Textual Domination and History in a Muslim Society*. Comparative Studies on Muslim Societies 16. 1993. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996. Pp. xii + 341. \$40.
- MILLER, D.; ROWLANDS, M.; and TILLEY, C., eds. *Domination and Resistance*. One World Archaeology, vol. 3. London and New York: Routledge, 1995. Pp. xx + 332. \$25.
- MILLER, DOUGLAS B. and SHIPP, R. MARK. *An Akkadian Handbook: Paradigms, Helps, Glossary, Logograms, and Sign List*. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1996. Pp. vi + 163. \$14.95.
- MONSERRAT, DOMINIC. *Sex and Society in Graeco-Roman Egypt*. London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1996. Pp. xix + 238 + 16 figs. + 25 pls. \$76.50.
- MOUSSEAU, CLAIRE, ed. *Archaeological Remains: In Situ Preservation. Proceedings of the Second ICAHM International Conference*. Montreal: ICOMOS International Committee on Archaeological Heritage Management, 1994. Pp. xi + 417 + 30 figs.
- NAYDLER, JEREMY. *Temple of the Cosmos: The Ancient Egyptian Experience of the Sacred*. Rochester, Vermont: Inner Traditions, 1996. Pp. x + 310. \$19.95.
- O'NEILL, JOHN P., ed. *Ancient Art from the Shumei Family Collection*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996. Pp. 222 + 184 figs. \$60.
- OXTOBY, WILLARD G., ed. *World Religions: Eastern Traditions*. Toronto, New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996. Pp. v + 554 + 44 figs. \$27.95.
- PATRICK, THEODORE HALL. *Traditional Egyptian Christianity: A History of the Coptic Orthodox Church*. Greensboro: Fisher Park Press, 1996. Pp. xiii + 226. \$14.95.
- POO, MU-CHOU. *Wine and Wine Offering in the Religion of Ancient Egypt*. Studies in Egyptology. London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1995. Pp. xvii + 187 + 16 figs. \$110.
- POPKO, MACIEJ. *Religions of Asia Minor*. Translated by Iwona Zych. Warsaw: Academic Publications Dialog, 1995. Pp. 230.
- PREUSS, HORST DIETRICH. *Old Testament Theology*, Vol. 1. Translated by LEO G. PERDUE. (*Theologie des Alten Testaments, Band 1: JHWHs erwählendes und verpflichtendes Handeln*. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1991). Old Testament Library. Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996. Pp. xii + 372.
- RAINEY, ANSON F. *Canaanite in the Amarna Tablets: A Linguistic Analysis of Mixed Dialect Used by Scribes from Canaan*. Vol. 1. Orthography, Phonology, Morphosyntactic Analysis of the Pronouns, Nouns, Numerals. Vol. 2. Morphosyntactic Analysis of the Verbal System. Vol. 3. Morphosyntactic Analysis of the Particles and Adverbs. Vol. 4. References and Indexes of Texts Cited. Handbuch der Orientalistik, 1. Abteilung, der Nahe und Mittlere Osten, 25. Band. Leiden, New York, and Cologne: E. J. Brill, 1996. Vol. 1, pp. xxi + 204; vol. 2,

- pp. xviii + 415; vol. 3, pp. xii + 280; vol. 4, pp. xiii + 198. \$390 (4 vols.).
- RASCHKE, CARL A. and RASCHKE, SUSAN DOUGHTY. *The Engendering God: Male and Female Faces of God*. Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995. Pp. x + 102.
- REINER, ERICA. *Astral Magic in Babylonia*. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 85, pt. 4, 1995. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1995. Pp. xiii + 150. \$20.
- ROBINSON, FRANCIS, ed. *The Cambridge Illustrated History of the Islamic World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996. Pp. 328 including 14 maps + 200 pls. \$39.95.
- ROTH, ANN MACY. *A Cemetery of Palace Attendants Including G 2084–2099, G 2230 + 2231, and G 2240*. Giza Mastabas, vol. 6. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1995. Pp. xxvi + 175 + 210 pls. + 91 figs. \$100.
- ROULIN, GILLES. *Le Livre de la nuit: Une Composition égyptienne de l'au-delà. 1^{er} partie: Traduction et commentaire; 1^{re} partie: Copie synoptique*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 147/1 and 2. Fribourg: Editions Universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996. Pp. xx + 409 (part 1); x + 169 figs. + 19 pls. (part 2).
- SCHMIDT, BRIAN B. *Israel's Beneficent Dead: Ancestor Cult and Necromancy in Ancient Israelite Religion and Tradition*. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1994. Pp. xv + 400. \$37.50.
- SCHMITZ, BETTINA. *Untersuchungen zu Idu II, Giza: Ein Interdisziplinäres Projekt*. Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge 38. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg Verlag, 1996. Pp. x + 85 + 30 pls.
- SHANKS, HERSHEL, ed. *Archaeology's Publication Problem*. Washington, D.C.: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1996. Pp. 119. \$24.95.
- SHINNIE, P. L. *Ancient Nubia*. London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1996. Pp. xvii + 145 + 31 figs. + 32 pls. + 10 maps. \$76.50.
- SMITH, STUART TYSON. *Askut in Nubia: The Economics and Ideology of Egyptian Imperialism in the Second Millennium BC*. Studies in Egyptology. London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1995. Pp. xviii + 242 + 22 pls. + 70 figs. \$127.50.
- SPARKES, BRIAN K. *The Red and the Black: Studies in Greek Pottery*. London and New York: Routledge, 1996. Pp. xxvii + 203, including 95 figures. \$18.95.
- STERN, EPHRAIM ET AL. *Excavations at Dor, Final Report, Volume 1 A, Areas A and C: Introduction and Stratigraphy*. Qedem Reports 1. *Excavations at Dor, Final Report, Volume 1 B, Areas A and C: The Finds*. Qedem Reports 2. Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology, The Hebrew University, 1995. Vol. 1, pp. 369 + figs. + pls.; vol. 2, pp. 503 + figs. + pls. Vol. 1, \$60; vol. 2, \$80.
- STERN, JACOB. *On Unbelievable Tales: Palaephatus Peri Apiston*. Wauconda, Illinois: Bolchazy-Carucci, 1996. Pp. vii + 167. \$20.
- STÖRK, LOTHAR. *Koptische Handschriften 3: Die Handschriften der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Teil 3: Addenda und Corrigenda zu Teil 1*. Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band XXI, 3. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1996. Pp. 127 + 60 figs. DM 96.
- TAYLOR, JOHN H. *Unwrapping a Mummy*. Egyptian Bookshelf. London: British Museum Press, 1996. Pp. 111 + 70 figs. \$9.99.
- TOV, EMANUEL, ed. *Qumran Cave 4, XIV: Parabiblical Texts*. Pt. 2. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, vol. 19. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995. Pp. xi + 267 + 29 pls. \$125.
- ULRICH, EUGENE, ed. *Qumran Cave 4, IX: Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, vol. 14. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995. Pp. xv + 188 + 37 pls. \$105.
- ULSHÖFER, ANDREA MARIE. *Die altassyrischen Privaturlkunden*. Freiburger altorientalische Studien, Beihefte: Altassyrische Texte und Untersuchungen, Band 4. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1995. Pp. x + 503. DM 186.
- URBANEK, ROBERT. *The Black Stone*. Vacaville, California: Neva Press, 1995. Pp. 198. \$12.95.
- VITA, JUAN-PABLO. *El ejército de Ugarit*. Banco de Datos Filológicos Semíticos Noroccidentales, Monografías 1. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1995. Pp. xiii + 237 + 16 pls.
- WEEK, ISTINAH. *The Man from the East*. New York: Vantage Press, Inc., 1996. Pp. xii + 193. \$14.95.
- WELSBY, DEREK A. *The Kingdom of Kush: The Napatan and Meroitic Empires*. London: British Museum, 1996. Pp. 240 + 93 figs. \$20.
- WHEELER, BRANNON M. *Applying the Canon in Islam: The Authorization and Maintenance of Interpretive Reasoning in Hanafi Scholarship*. SUNY Series, Toward a Comparative Philosophy of Religions. New York: State University of New York Press, 1996. Pp. xv + 324 + 20 figs. \$22.95.
- WHITTOW, MARK. *The Making of Byzantium, 600–1025*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996. Pp. xxiv + 477. \$45.
- WILLEMS, HARCO. *The Coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418): A Case Study of Egyptian Funerary Culture of the Early Middle Kingdom*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 70. Leuven: Peeters Publishers and Department of Oriental Studies, 1996. Pp. xxxvi + 551 + 51 pls. 2,900 Belgian francs.
- WISEMAN, D. J. and BLACK, J. A. *Literary Texts from the Temple of Nabû*. Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud, vol. 4. London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1996. Pp. vi + 62 + 167 pls. + 1 plan.

The *American Committee for South Asian Manuscripts*
is looking for manuscripts written in any of the following languages:

**Arabic • Avestan • Bengali • Gujarati • Hindi
Kanarese • Kashmiri • Marathi • Nepali • Oriya
Pali • Punjabi • Persian • Prakrit • Rajasthani
Sanskrit • Simhalese • Tamil • Telugu • Urdu**

Or any other non-European language used in South Asia.

ACSAM, founded under the auspices of the American Oriental Society,
is seeking to locate all manuscripts written in these languages in the United States and Canada
with the intention of preparing descriptive catalogues of all of them.

Please send us information about your manuscripts.

*If you are uncertain of the language or script of any manuscript that you think might be of
interest to us, we will be glad to try to identify it for you from a photocopy or photograph.*

**ACSAM
Box 1900
Brown University
Providence, RI 02912
email: hmath@brownvm.brown.edu**

New in paperback

JEW AND GENTILE IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

Attitudes and Interactions from Alexander to Justinian

Louis H. Feldman

Relations between Jews and non-Jews in the Hellenistic-Roman period were marked by suspicion and hate, most studies of that topic maintain. But if such conjectures are true, asks Louis Feldman, how did Jews succeed in winning so many adherents? Systematically evaluating attitudes toward Jews from the time of Alexander the Great to the fifth century C. E., Feldman finds that Judaism elicited strongly positive responses from the non-Jewish population.

"The most comprehensive recent study of relations between Jew and Gentile in the ancient world. It will take its place with the classic works . . . as an indispensable resource for the study of Judaism in the Hellenistic and Roman world."

—John J. Collins, *Journal of Biblical Literature*

Paper: \$24.95 ISBN 0-691-02927-X

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS

AVAILABLE AT FINE BOOKSTORES OR DIRECTLY FROM THE PUBLISHER: 800-777-4726
WORLD WIDE WEB SITE: [HTTP://PUP.PRINCETON.EDU](http://PUP.PRINCETON.EDU)

Devoted to Native American linguistics for eighty years

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF AMERICAN LINGUISTICS

Founded by Franz Boas in 1917, *IJAL* explores the development and understanding of general linguistic theory and the relations between language and culture in Native American languages. Each quarter, *IJAL* subscribers receive rigorous investigations of texts and linguistic data from internationally renowned scholars in the field. In addition, they receive presentations of grammars, grammatical fragments, and other documents and discussions relevant to American Indian languages and their speakers.

Edited by David S. Rood

Published quarterly by The University of Chicago Press

Regular one-year subscription rates: \$44.00 Individuals; \$33.00 Students (with copy of valid ID); \$120.00 Institutions. **Outside USA**, please add \$6.00 for postage; Canadian residents, please add 7% GST plus postage. **Visa and MasterCard** accepted. To order, send check, purchase order, or complete credit card information to The University of Chicago Press, Journals Division, Dept. SF7SA, P.O. Box 37005, Chicago, IL 60637. For more information and online ordering, visit our website at <http://www.journals.uchicago.edu>.

11/96

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

1. Publication title: Journal of Near Eastern Studies
2. Publication number: 0022-2968
3. Filing date: September 27, 1996
4. Issue frequency: Quarterly
5. No. of issues published annually: 4
6. Annual subscription price: \$73.00
7. Complete mailing address of known office of publication: 5720 South Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, Cook, IL 60637-1603
8. Complete mailing address of the headquarters or general business offices of the publishers: 5720 South Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, Cook, IL 60637-1603
9. Full names and complete mailing addresses of publisher, editor, and managing editor:
Publisher: The University of Chicago Press, 5720 South Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, IL 60637-1603
Editor: Robert D. Biggs, 1155 East 58th Street, Chicago, IL 60637-1569
Managing Editor: None
10. Owner: The University of Chicago Press, 5720 South Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, IL 60637-1603
11. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities: None
12. The purpose, function, and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for Federal income tax purposes have not changed during preceding 12 months
13. Publication name: Journal of Near Eastern Studies
14. Issue date for circulation data below: July 1996

15. Extent and nature of circulation:	Average Number Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 Months	Actual Number Copies of Single Issue Published Nearest to Filing Date
a. Total number copies printed	2,343	2,397
b. Paid circulation:		
1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales	2	1
2. Mail subscription	1,350	1,434
c. Total paid and/or requested circulation	1,352	1,435
d. Free distribution by mail (samples, complimentary, and other free copies)	100	100
e. Free distribution outside the mail	0	0
f. Total free distribution (sum of d & e)	100	100
g. Total distribution (sum of c & f)	1,452	1,535
h. Copies not distributed:		
1. Office use, left over, spoiled	891	862
2. Returns from news agents	0	0
i. Total (sum of g, h1 and 2)	2,343	2,397
Percent paid and/or Requested Circulation	93%	93%

16. This Statement of Ownership will be printed in the Jan. 1997 issue of this publication.

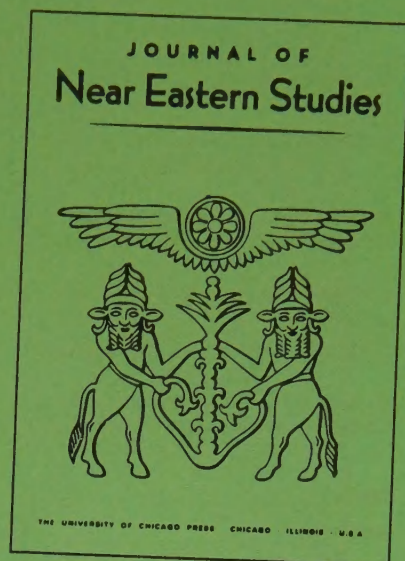
17. I certify that all information furnished on this form is true and complete. I understand that anyone who furnishes false or misleading information on this form or who omits material or information requested on the form may be subject to criminal sanctions (including fines and imprisonment) and/or civil sanctions (including multiple damages and civil penalties).

ROBERT SHIRRELL, Journals Manager

Journal of Near Eastern Studies

**Near Eastern studies
wouldn't be the same
without it.**

This is a journal that has played a major role in shaping current theory and methods, in generating discussion and commentary, in advancing the field — that's why you're reading this issue. But if you're not a subscriber, you could be missing important developments. If you don't want to miss a single issue—and you'd like to take advantage of a 15% introductory discount—order today.

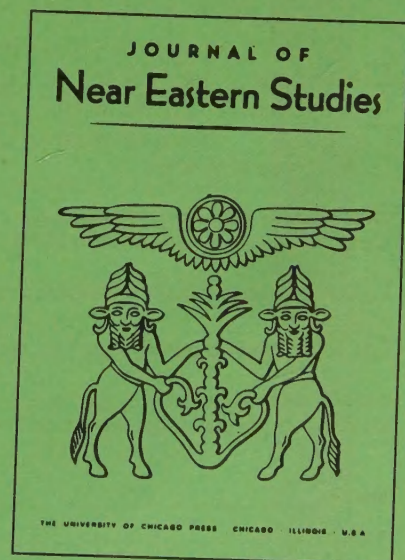


Save 15% using the order form on reverse.

Journal of Near Eastern Studies

**Near Eastern studies
wouldn't be the same
without it.**

This is a journal that has played a major role in shaping current theory and methods, in generating discussion and commentary, in advancing the field — that's why you're reading this issue. But if you're not a subscriber, you could be missing important developments. If you don't want to miss a single issue—and you'd like to take advantage of a 15% introductory discount—order today.



Save 15% using the order form on reverse.

Journal of Near Eastern Studies

Enter a new subscription and save 15%!

	New	Renewal
<input type="checkbox"/> Individuals	<input type="checkbox"/> \$34.85 (J)	<input type="checkbox"/> \$41.00
<input type="checkbox"/> Institutions	<input type="checkbox"/> 85.85 (J)	<input type="checkbox"/> 101.00
<input type="checkbox"/> Students	<input type="checkbox"/> 22.10 (J)	<input type="checkbox"/> 26.00

(with copy of valid ID)

Outside USA: please add \$5 for postage.

Canadian residents: please add 7% GST.

☐ **Back issues:** remaining issues (vols. 49-54)
at 50% off:

☐ \$129.35 Individuals ☐ \$301.85 Institutions

Outside USA: please add 75¢ per issue for postage.

Canadian residents: please add 7% GST.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip/Country _____

Visit our website at <http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/>

Please send your order to **The University of Chicago Press, Journals Division, P.O. Box 37005, Chicago, IL 60637 USA.** IS7XX

Payment Options

Orders must include payment in U.S. dollars.

Fax credit card orders to:

(312) 753-0811 (before October 12, 1996)

(773) 753-0811 (effective October 12, 1996)

☐ **Charge** ☐ **MasterCard** ☐ **Visa**

Expiration date _____

Account no. _____

Signature _____

Phone number _____

☐ **Check** enclosed (in U.S. dollars drawn from
a U.S. bank, payable to the journal)

Journal of Near Eastern Studies

Enter a new subscription and save 15%!

	New	Renewal
<input type="checkbox"/> Individuals	<input type="checkbox"/> \$34.85 (J)	<input type="checkbox"/> \$41.00
<input type="checkbox"/> Institutions	<input type="checkbox"/> 85.85 (J)	<input type="checkbox"/> 101.00
<input type="checkbox"/> Students	<input type="checkbox"/> 22.10 (J)	<input type="checkbox"/> 26.00

(with copy of valid ID)

Outside USA: please add \$5 for postage.

Canadian residents: please add 7% GST.

☐ **Back issues:** remaining issues (vols. 49-54)
at 50% off:

☐ \$129.35 Individuals ☐ \$301.85 Institutions

Outside USA: please add 75¢ per issue for postage.

Canadian residents: please add 7% GST.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip/Country _____

Visit our website at <http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/>

Please send your order to **The University of Chicago Press, Journals Division, P.O. Box 37005, Chicago, IL 60637 USA.** IS7XX

Payment Options

Orders must include payment in U.S. dollars.

Fax credit card orders to:

(312) 753-0811 (before October 12, 1996)

(773) 753-0811 (effective October 12, 1996)

☐ **Charge** ☐ **MasterCard** ☐ **Visa**

Expiration date _____

Account no. _____

Signature _____

Phone number _____

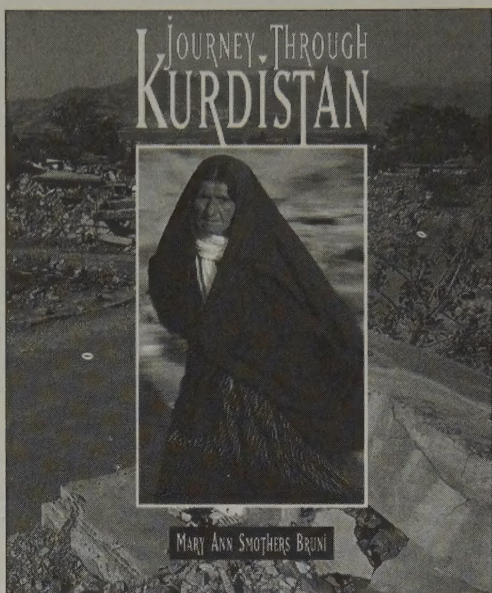
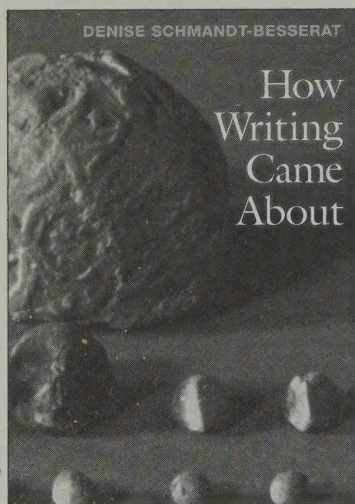
☐ **Check** enclosed (in U.S. dollars drawn from
a U.S. bank, payable to the journal)

Journey through Kurdistan BY MARY ANN SMOTHERS BRUNI

Bruni's experiences as a photojournalist traveling through Kurdistan, Iraq, and Turkey between 1990 and 1995 involved very personal encounters with the residents of city and village, as well as the countryside and tent camps. Eighty-three color plates show the stark, yet beautiful land of Kurdistan under the stress of political strife and war. Her accompanying essay describes the people's lives during a time of great hardship, particularly the lives of women, whose bravery and hospitality were especially notable. Bruni's words and pictures offer compelling testimony to the tenacity of the Kurdish people.

*Distributed for the Texas Memorial
Museum of the University of Texas
at Austin*

\$39.95 hardcover, \$24.95 paperback



How Writing Came About BY DENISE SCHMANDT-BESSERAT

For a wide public and classroom audience, here is Denise Schmandt-Besserat's ground-breaking theory — that the cuneiform script invented in the Near East in the late fourth millennium B.C. derived from an archaic counting device. Based on the analysis and interpretation of a selection of 8,000 tokens or counters from 116 sites in Iran, Iraq, the Levant, and Turkey, it documents the immediate precursor of the cuneiform script.

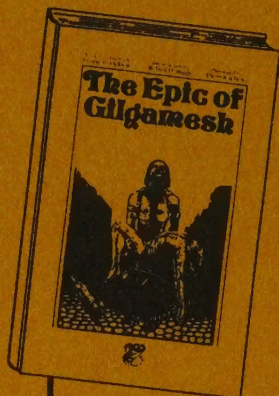
27 b&w photos, 18 line drawings, 3 maps,
5 tables, 42 pages of charts

\$19.95 paperback

At bookstores or call 800-252-3206.



University of Texas Press
BOX 7819 AUSTIN, TX 78713



This new edition of
The Epic of Gilgamesh features:

- Verse Rendition of the Text by
Danny P. Jackson
- 15 Original Woodcut Illustrations by
Thom Kapheim
- Introduction and Captions to 18
Photographs of Ancient Artifacts by
Robert D. Biggs
- Extensive Historical Commentary

**A work of universal
significance...the
genesis of literature...**

- **The first extant epic**
- **The first euhemeristic
hero**
- **The first set of myth
parallels to the Bible**

"This Lyrical and moving presentation
gives new meaning to the wonderful
tale of *Gilgamesh*."

-Robert D. Biggs, Editor:
Journal of Near Eastern Studies

"...with its own poetic rendering and
with its far superior supporting
apparatus and with its bargain price
[this edition] is a clear winner."

-James Keenan, Professor of Classics,
Loyola University of Chicago

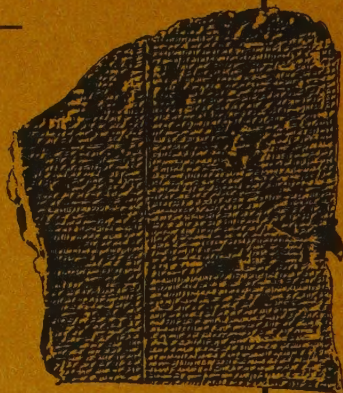
Library Edition (HB, 4-color illustrations)	\$35.00
Deluxe Edition (SB, 4-color illustrations)	\$15.00
Student Edition (SB, b&w illustrations)	\$5.95

A Gilgamesh Reader

ed. John Maier

A collection of published and
new articles to promote greater
appreciation and understanding
in our reading and teaching
The Epic of Gilgamesh.

In preparation, ca. 500 pages,
with a comprehensive bibliography.



Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, Inc.

1000 Brown Street, Wauconda, IL 60084

847/526-4344; FAX 847/526-2867

e-mail Bolchazy@delphi.com



0022-2968(199701)56:1;1-F